

*Local Communities in Fifteenth Century
London: Craft, Parish and Neighbourhood*

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Justin Robert Colson, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Abstract

This thesis explores structural changes to the institutions of urban life within the City of London during the fifteenth century. While the late medieval period posed many challenges, London fared well. Profound changes gripped its economic and social infrastructure: traditional medieval forms of social organisation and control changed into formalised structures and procedures, with implications for the social makeup of the City itself.

Using an innovative combination of methodologies, including GIS mapping and Social Network Analysis, social topography and sociability are investigated to reconstruct changes in ‘civil society’. Focusing upon four neighbouring parishes, the thesis is particularly concerned with personal interaction and locations of residence and trade. Archival study of hundreds of wills and deeds has created a dataset detailing legal and personal relationships between 4,000 Londoners. Social transformations are revealed at a local level by reconstructing and mapping property boundaries, and chronologies of ownership, as well as social relationships expressed in wills.

Early in the century the City was still segregated into relatively homogenous ‘trade quarters’, for both customary and pragmatic reasons. Bridge Street, for example, was a natural focus for Fishmongers. Prosopographical study of that Company has revealed a ‘quasi-federal’ structure, simultaneously reflecting neighbourhood identities and wider commercial interests. Yet, by the close of the century, a fundamental shift in the nature of Companies, from a ‘personal’, to a formal social basis, transformed the social topography of the City into a much more heterogeneous form.

The erosion of localised Craft structures coincided with the diversification of social activities of parish churches, revealed in the volume and breadth of community participation. Furthermore, the strength of informal sociability within the neighbourhood remained constant in the face of these changes. The neighbourhood thus remained a fundamental element in the infrastructure of the late-medieval City, both defining, and reflecting, local sociability.

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Abbreviations

BL	British Library
CalCR	Calendar of Close Rolls
CLB	Calendar of Letter Books
CalPR	Calendar of Patent Rolls
CalPMR	Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls
GL	Guildhall Library, Corporation of London (now London Metropolitan Archives)
HR	Husting Roll of Deeds and Wills
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives (inc. Corporation of London Record Office)
MoLAS	Museum of London Archaeology Service (now Museum of London Archaeology)
PROB11	Prerogative Court of Canterbury Will Registers (refs. to DocsOnline service)
SBB	St Botolph Billingsgate
SMBS(SMFS)	St Margaret Bridge Street (Fish Street Hill)
SMH	St Mary at Hill
SMM	St Magnus the Martyr
TNA	The National Archives, Kew (formerly Public Record Office)

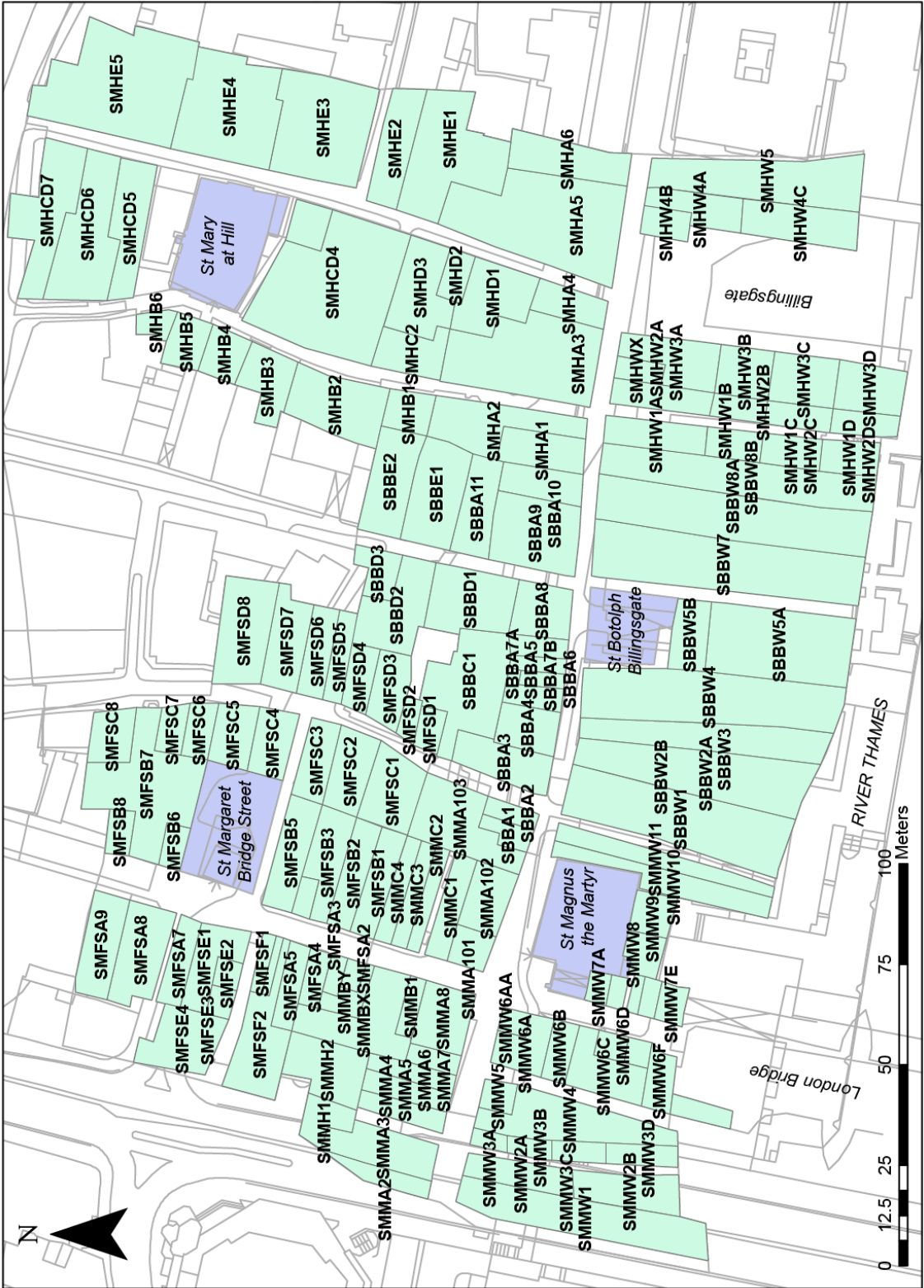
Note on Conventions

Throughout the thesis original spelling, as well as original units of currency, distance, area and volume have been retained where possible. However, where calculations have been made, or measurements have been projected from maps, metric units have been employed to emphasize the distinction between source material and analysis. Dates have been modernised throughout.

Referencing generally follows the guidelines of the Modern Humanities Research Association Style Guide, with abbreviations employed as above. References to wills in the registers of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury are given in short form as use was made of the TNA DocsOnline service, which does not employ folio references.

Dates of death are abbreviated with the symbol †. Where a married woman's former name(s) are positively known, they are provided in hyphenated form.

Reference Map of Tenement Codes and Churches



1 Introduction and Contexts

London society may be conceived of more fruitfully as a mosaic of neighbourhoods rather than a single amorphous community.¹

Medieval London was a city of over 50,000 souls, yet famously comprised an area of only one square mile. This square mile contained individuals who practised a multitude of different trades and crafts, worshipped at over a hundred parish churches, and originated from innumerable locations. It was anything but homogenous. Despite its small physical area, it was unlikely that many of its residents were fully familiar with the entirety of the City; rather, their day-to-day lives brought them into contact with only a relatively limited number of places within the city. These individual perceptions of the city naturally tended to overlap, depending on the nature of the individual's life. Concentration of particular trades in particular areas, combined with the parochial and local political systems, meant that coincidences of circumstances tended to occur within localised areas. This might be understood as a 'neighbourhood'.

This thesis focuses upon local life in one of these neighbourhoods during the fifteenth century. It examines social networks recreated through prisms provided by several institutional features of the medieval city: the parish churches, the crafts or Companies, the civic administration and the ownership of land. The strength of the neighbourhood as a social force is assessed through assessment of the extent to which social relationships concentrated within the local area. That is to say, how 'dense' was the web of social interactions fostered by coincidence of location – and importantly, it seeks to gauge the impact of the locality itself in encouraging the formation of these social links.

The concept of 'urban history from below' is fully embraced in this study, mirroring emerging research trends within European, and especially Low Countries, history by focusing upon 'the humans behind urban constitutions, and the multiple reasons why they tried to influence the social and social spatial reality surrounding them'.² In doing so, theoretical apparatus are adapted from the social sciences, including Social Network Theory, which helps to explain the interactions of social bonds, and Actor Network Theory, which considers the interrelationships of people, places and 'things'.

¹ Jeremy Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 293.

² Jelle Haemers, "Urban History of the Medieval Low Countries: Research Trends and New Perspectives (2000–10)," *Urban History* 38, no. 2 (2011): 346.

1.1 Theoretical Contexts

Historians have learned from sociologists, geographers and anthropologists to see the urban landscape in terms of territorial claims and social space, not only in the objective sense of the existence of different urban zones with different functions, but also in the subjective sense that townspeople regard some streets as home ground and other streets, not necessarily far away but over a certain threshold as alien.³

In defining the aims of this thesis, two key concepts must be introduced: the concept of ‘communities’, and the differentiation of space and place. They are ‘common sense’ terms, yet their use in academic discourse carries specific connotations and complications, so require exploration and definition.

Making Sense of ‘Communities’

Community as a concept has been subjected to intensive study (one author counted ninety-seven definitions) and confusion surrounding its meaning has lead a number of authorities to abandon it altogether.⁴

Unlike parishes, counties, manors and towns, they [neighbourhoods] had no legal or formal definition: the neighbourhood formed the most immediate and inescapable social context for all but the most marginal members of the population.⁵

‘Community’ has become a vogue across the social sciences, and more recently and persistently, in politics. Yet, as indicated by Boulton, its elasticity has come to blight its use. Rather like the elusive definition of ‘feudalism’, ‘community’ has come to take on a different meaning in the words of seemingly each and every author who considers it, and thus, many have argued, it has lost all practical usefulness. Nonetheless, a term to describe forms of human association is a necessity, so ‘community’ remains the designation used in this work, albeit to be considered in inverted commas.

The ambiguity of the term ‘community’ arises mainly from the fact that it describes things in two distinct categories. These are termed ‘communities of place’, and ‘communities of interest’. The former describes groups of individuals associated by their geographical location – their place of abode, or work, their country of residence, and so on. This is currently the dominant definition, certainly in terms of popular awareness. Communities of interest describe associative groupings

³ Peter Burke, “Urban History and Urban Anthropology of Early Modern Europe,” in *The Pursuit of Urban History*, ed. Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe (London: Edward Arnold, 1983), 73.

⁴ Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century*, 230.

⁵ Norman Leslie Jones and Daniel R Woolf, “Introduction,” in *Local Identities in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 7.

created through choice rather than chance: people who voluntarily come together in order to facilitate or express something that they share in common, such as religious, commercial or political interests. Thus, 'community' refers to any group of individuals united by any shared feature in their lives – through chance or through choice. Sociologists following Tönnies have often referred to communities of interest as *gesellschaften*, functioning for the mutual benefit of (at least a dominant proportion of) their members, in opposition to a *gemeinschaften* or community of place or family.⁶

It is important to recognize from these definitions that a 'community' can never exist as a singular, mutually exclusive, coherent 'thing'; it is, instead, a transient category of analysis, and can be applied in multiple and varying ways to each individual. Considering historical 'communities', we may observe many contiguous and overlapping communities of both geography and interest, of which all medieval people were members. It is not uncommon for historians to talk of 'national communities'; that is to say a community of all those united by living under the rule of the same ruler, and law.⁷ In a related sense, we can also talk of political communities simultaneously on other levels, those subject to the same power, most commonly, on smaller scales, such as the county, the city or the hundred, but also a wider scale, such as the Hanseatic League. Considering a different aspect of power, we can also talk of a religious community – all Western Europeans once shared religious allegiance through the Catholic Church, while at the same time being members of their individual local religious communities. Residents of the medieval City of London were simultaneously members of the political 'communities' of England, of the City of London, and of their individual one of the twenty-five wards that constituted the city. They were also members of the religious communities of the European Catholic Church, of the province of England and the diocese of London, as well as one of the hundred or more parishes contained within the square mile.

Neighbourhood evades a precise definition, but in our terms of 'community' as a body of people united by common interests or characteristics, a neighbourhood is best defined as a group of people who, through geographical proximity, come into contact with each other in their day-to-day lives. A neighbourhood is a social space simultaneously unique to the individual who experienced it, and yet possessed of its own existence beyond any formal or logical definition, as the sum of those individual perceptions. This ambiguous nature has excited the interest of many social scientists, yet one of its clearest explanations comes from one of its earliest students, Robert Park, founder-member of the Chicago School of sociology, in his seminal article 'Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behaviour in the City':

⁶ Ferdinand Tönnies, *Community and Society*, trans. Charles Price Loomis (Courier Dover, 2002), 33.

⁷ For example see M. L. Holford, "Pro patriotis: 'Country', 'Countrymen' and Local Solidarities in Late Medieval England," *Parergon* 23, no. 1 (2006): 48.

In the course of time every section and quarter of the city takes on something of the character and qualities of its inhabitants. Each separate part of the city is inevitably stained with the peculiar sentiments of its population. The effect of this is to convert what was at first a mere geographical expression into a neighborhood, that is to say, a locality with sentiments, traditions, and a history of its own. Within this neighborhood the continuity of the historical processes is somehow maintained. The past imposes itself upon the present and the life of every locality moves on with a certain momentum of its own, more or less independent of the larger circle of life and interests about it.⁸

London, however, did not conform to the ‘typical’ model of a medieval city, such as Venice, which is described by town planner Lewis Mumford as:

a city of neighbourhoods, established as parishes in relation to a dominant church or square; and its very constitution reminds us that the medieval city was composed on the neighbourhood principle, with the Church serving as a community center and the market place adjacent to it as ‘shopping center’, both within easy walking distance of all the inhabitants. The very word quarter reminds us that, typically, the medieval city, up to the sixteenth century, although it usually contained fewer than 25,000 inhabitants, was divided into quarters: each quarter had its own section of the walls to defend, along with its own churches, workshops and minor markets.⁹

By contrast, London’s parishes were so small in terms of area, as indeed were its wards, that neither could claim the coherence apparent in their continental equivalents. Neighbourhoods in London must, instead, be considered as abstract forms of geographical community, devoid of legal or administrative definition.

London’s communities of interest were much more tangible, most clearly visible in the form of the Companies and fraternities. These organisations are primarily known for their regulation of their respective trades – for example, the Goldsmiths’ Company had the authority to inspect the wares and regulate the prices of all goldsmiths operating in the city. They appear to have been prime examples of communities of interest, or *gesellschaften*. In practice, however, the medieval craft guild was far more than a merely logical and practical unit of business interests, and was often established around a kernel of religious brotherhood, and indeed around a central nucleus of place.

Social Networks

Social scientists have long sought to make sense of the way in which various communities interplay, such that ‘virtually nothing is coordinate with anything else and the crisscrossing of loyalties reaches

⁸ R. E. Park, “The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the City Environment,” *The American Journal of Sociology* 20, no. 5 (1915): 579.

⁹ Lewis Mumford, “The Neighborhood and the Neighborhood Unit,” *Town Planning Review* 24, no. 4 (1954): 258.

an almost unbelievable degree of intricacy'.¹⁰ Anthropologist J.A. Barnes published the first study to systematise this approach as 'Social Network Analysis' in 1954. He observed the operation of committees in a remote fishing community, and charted the links that they created between the various villagers in an attempt to measure the cohesiveness of the village community. He borrowed from mathematical network theory and calculated the 'density' of 'mesh' in the community – how many links between individuals it took to return to the same individual by a different means, and in doing so he coined the term 'social network'.¹¹ The approach 'boils down' to an attempt to record and portray as many social linkages between individuals as possible, in both institutional and non-institutional settings to analyse attributes such as 'density', 'closeness' and 'reach'. This analysis often reveals that an individual may be a member of multiple social 'clusters', which may or may not be located in his immediate locality; the city is:

a mosaic of little worlds which touch but do not interpenetrate. This makes it possible for individuals to pass quickly and easily from one moral milieu to another and encourages the fascinating but dangerous experiment of living at the same time in several different contiguous, perhaps, but widely separated worlds.¹²

Park's synopsis now appears a little simplistic, for most of these 'little worlds' do indeed interpenetrate. Applied to urban history, it is apparent that the communal feature that would be most likely to provide the connection between the various 'little worlds' of institutions and common interests, was the neighbourhood:

The influence of residential area upon the people who occupy it has been referred to as the 'neighbourhood', 'milieu' or the 'context' effect. In simple terms this hypothesis suggests that individual behaviour or attitudes will be influenced by the local environment, especially the typical values and role models present in any neighbourhood.¹³

Space and Place

(Social) space is not a thing amongst other things, nor a product among other products: rather it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity – their (relative) order

¹⁰ Clifford Geertz, "Form and Variation in Balinese Village Structure," *American Anthropologist* 61, no. 6 (1959): 1001.

¹¹ J. A. Barnes, "Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish," *Human Relations* 7, no. 1 (1954): 44.

¹² Park, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the City Environment," 608.

¹³ Wayne K. D. Davies and David T. Herbert, *Communities Within Cities: an Urban Social Geography* (London: Belhaven, 1993), 80.

and/or (relative) disorder. ... Itself the outcome of past actions, social space is what permits fresh actions to occur, while suggesting others and prohibiting yet others.¹⁴

Space and place carry very specific, and distinct meanings in academic geography. 'Space' refers to a specific physical location, distance, or area, while 'place' refers to the uniqueness of one particular space. Place, or 'social space', can be encapsulated as 'lived space'. Historians, in common with geographers, are increasingly keen to understand the relationship between these two concepts, and precisely how space is transformed into places.¹⁵ Most academics have followed Lefèbvre's concept of social space as a construct, defined by the unique interactions of all social participants in the local environment and economy.¹⁶ Place is therefore not so much a physical location, as a collision of social influences, one of which is geographic space.

Considering the development of place is therefore much the same process as considering the development of community. The theory of space and place, however, emphasizes that it is not only humans who can impact upon the forms of society. This is developed in Actor Network Theory: the acknowledgement that every action and event is a result of a network of actors, both active and passive:

In addition to ... serving as a 'backdrop for human action' *things* might authorise, allow, afford, encourage, permit, suggest, influence, block, render possible, forbid and so on ... no science of the social can even begin if the question of who and what participates in the action is not first thoroughly explored, even though it might mean letting in elements in which, for lack of a better term, we could call non-humans.¹⁷

This study therefore places great emphasis on the influence of both physical and social space in the formation of place and community.

¹⁴ Henri Lefèbvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1991), 73.

¹⁵ Beat Kümin, "The Spatial Turn from a Historical Perspective" (presented at the conference: From Space to Place: The Spatial Dimension in History of Western Europe, German Historical Institute, London, April 16, 2010).

¹⁶ Tim Unwin, "A Waste of Space? Towards a Critique of the Social Production of Space...", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 25, no. 1, New Series (January 1, 2000): 11-29.

¹⁷ Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 72.

1.2 Historiographical Contexts

Reports of the death of neighbourliness in early modern England would appear to have been greatly exaggerated.¹⁸

‘Community’ has traditionally been used by historians as a method rather than as a concept – a geographical or institutional means of data collection – yet ‘as a means of collecting and organizing data ... it makes no assumptions about the actual existence of absence of “communities of sentiment” or any other kind of community among the objects of its study’.¹⁹ The work of Keith Thomas and others, has tended to assume that the early modern period saw a breakdown in the ‘traditional’ neighbourhood, prompting innovations such as the seventeenth-century witch craze. As suggested by Wrightson, this concept has many flaws. Quite what this traditional neighbourhood, or ‘historic community’ might have comprised, and evidence for this, has been largely ignored.

Studies of historical communities have most often taken the form of manorial studies, charting the history of a single rural manor through the evidence of its court rolls – some, however, have taken advantage of the theoretical work on ‘community’. Marjorie McIntosh’s study of the manor of Havering, Essex is particularly successful. Havering, with its principal town of Romford, was a manor of the royal ancient demesne, meaning that not only was the manor court well documented and extensive in its scope, but the residents regarded this local jurisdiction as a privilege to be jealously guarded. McIntosh’s study, drawing heavily on anthropological perspectives, exposes the ways in which the elites of the community attempted to mediate the rule of law to the benefit all of the ‘commonality of the manor’.²⁰ McIntosh developed this emphasis on observable local social phenomena as windows into local communities, for example exploring the ways in which local communities responded to the issue of poverty in their areas through religious fraternities prior to the establishment of formal parochial structures in the Tudor era.²¹ She explores the social cooperation thus revealed by developing the concept of ‘social capital’. Those who possessed a formal role or involvement in local society earned status through participation. Like financial

¹⁸ Keith Wrightson, “The ‘decline of Neighbourliness’ Revisited,” in *Local Identities in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Norman Leslie Jones and Daniel R Woolf (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 21.

¹⁹ Alan Macfarlane, S. Harrison, and C. Jardine, *Reconstructing Historical Communities* (Cambridge, 1977), 4.

²⁰ Marjorie K. McIntosh, *Autonomy and Community: The Royal Manor of Havering 1200-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 124, 235.

²¹ Marjorie K. McIntosh, “Local Responses to the Poor in Late Medieval and Tudor England,” *Continuity and Change* 3, no. 2 (1988): 220. cf. R. D Putnam, “Bowling Alone: America’s Declining Social Capital,” *Journal of Democracy* 6, no. 1 (1995): 65–78.

capital, social capital begets social capital. Those participating in the formal organisations of the locality would be encouraged to do so as a form of social advancement and identification with the wider English community. This provides a coherent explanation of the way in which ‘English towns and villages were not uniform and well integrated bodies, but rather comprised a range of overlapping sub-communities’ within the framework of conventional manorial or parochial studies by emphasizing the focus upon voluntary association.²²

The concept of social capital has been applied within the urban setting in, for example, the work of Steve Rappaport and Valerie Pearl, who emphasized the role of decentralised government in maintaining social order within the City of London during a period of rapid population growth. It is estimated that by 1600 there were 3000 elected officials annually in London, in addition to 1500 parochial officials, meaning that ‘local government was highly participatory; immediate and personal and certainly capable of responding effectively to communal needs’.²³ Devolved government emphasized the importance of local officials and local networks of influence and social capital, uniting both the locality around the networks of government, but also linking the leaders of those local networks with the centre – connecting the neighbourhood substructure with the civic superstructure. Naturally these official activities are the sources of our recorded history, granting us access to the wider social networks of the locality:

The duties and difficulties of local officials acting as mediators between outside powers and their neighbours is shown in almost every document. Since what actually reached the courts and was actually written down depended heavily on such officials and their ideas of the offices they held, study of them is not merely a separate and dry piece of administrative history.²⁴

Parochial Histories

If manorial and town studies have been one dominant strand of ‘community history’, then another has certainly been parochial studies. Beat Kümin justifies his definition of a parish as a community by stating that it is a:

Common-sense acknowledgment of the existence of a geographically defined religious and social unit with certain collective responsibilities and the capability to act, sue and to be represented as a quasi-corporate body. It reflects the fact that it

²² Marjorie K. McIntosh, “The Diversity of Social Capital in English Communities, 1300-1640 (with a Glance at Modern Nigeria),” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29 (1999): 467.

²³ Valerie Pearl, “Change and Stability in Seventeenth-Century London,” *London Journal* 5, no. 1 (1979): 3–34; Steve L. Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 183.

²⁴ Macfarlane, Harrison, and Jardine, *Reconstructing Historical Communities*, 184.

could nurture “pride” and “intense loyalty” among its members, as well as the observation that much of late medieval worship was of a distinctly corporate nature.²⁵

While this definition is accurate in its description of a parish as an institution, it conflates a parish as a geographical unit with it as a community of interest. Institutional aspects of the parish frame Kümin’s study: considering themes such as communal responsibilities, fraternities, and chantries as ‘parochial sub-structures’. However, the parish was a composite: while, of course, it was a geographically defined unit whose individuals were expected to worship together, those taking an active part in the formal operation of those ‘sub-structures’ were generally a distinct sub-set of the former. Furthermore, the parish was a social ‘neighbourhood’: ‘loyalties growing up around the parish church may have done much to sustain friendships between families which otherwise moved in different social spheres’.²⁶

Just as manorial studies are often limited by the scope of the court rolls that serve as their sources, studies of the parish as a community are limited by the use of churchwardens’ accounts, which are, by definition, records only of the institutional parish. This has not stopped many historians producing rounded studies of medieval parishes, usually by combining the evidence of churchwardens’ accounts with personal records to examine the relationship between individual and institution. Clive Burgess’ work on the neighbouring parishes of St Mary at Hill and St Andrew Hubbard, for example, reveals that although the poorer parish of St Andrew had no perpetual chantries, and consequently had developed little elaboration or formalisation in its records, it was still to be considered ‘pivotal in the concerns of its parishioners’.²⁷ The records of St Mary are exceptional (hence the selection of that parish in the present study) and include a diagrammatised quaterage assessment which Burgess supposes serves as an ‘official aid-memoire, intended to reinforce a sense of community which could be taken for granted in a small town or rural parishes’.²⁸ An interesting conclusion from Burgess’ study, in terms of the parish as a community, however, is the fact that those parishioners with a recorded institutional position were not in fact at

²⁵ Beat Kümin, *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish, C.1400-1560* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1996), 2.

²⁶ S. Brigden, “Religion and Social Obligation in Early Sixteenth-Century London,” *Past & Present* 103 (1984): 72.

²⁷ Clive Burgess, “Shaping the Parish: St Mary at Hill, London, in the Fifteenth Century,” in *The Cloister and the World: Essays on Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey*, ed. John Blair and Brian Golding (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 252. ; Clive Burgess, “London Parishioners in Times of Change: St. Andrew Hubbard, Eastcheap, C.1450-1570,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53, no. 1 (2002): 46.

²⁸ Burgess, “Shaping the Parish,” 258.

its apex – ‘churchwardenship was a rung on the ladder’ on the path to the apparently less formal position as a member of the parish elite.²⁹ Thus even in terms of the structured community of the parish, our records can be taken to refer to only a small portion of the formal life of the community.

Eamon Duffy illustrated the reciprocal loyalties of rich and poor within a parish especially well in his study of the Devon parish of Morebath, another parish possessed of exceptional churchwardens’ accounts, elaborated and personalised by its enthusiastic priest. The enthusiasm of Sir Christopher Trychay certainly galvanised the efforts to fund new vestments and candlesticks, yet ‘much of the devotional investment of Morebath was manifestly rooted in domestic affections ... seeking by means of this investment in the public space of the church an affirmation of the endurance and holiness of their private fidelities’.³⁰ It is this combination of private and institutional expressions of community that best summarises the role of the parish. While it is a community in itself, in the broader sense, it is more commonly a ‘container’ for subsets of its parishioners – its elite, those participating in particular schemes or supporting particular altars, or indeed those subscribing to voluntary associations attached to it.

The parish had the potential to gather all its members at the compulsory Easter service. It further obliged its members to pay tithe for the support of the church: this contribution was quite unlike the subscription to a guild, since the layman retained no control over the way in which the tithe was spent ... Parishioners might recognize and act upon common interests in addition to that of attending the mass. But whereas these were possible conjunctures in the parish, in the guild they were defining and essential qualities.³¹

Religious guilds took many forms throughout medieval Europe, but ‘whatever else they have been, [they] were essentially communal chantries’.³² They were fundamentally different from a parish community and, indeed, were distinct from trade guilds, as their membership was ultimately voluntary. Membership was not, however, open to all – it was often circumscribed by entry fines, or high membership charges. In some cases a stipulation was made that current members should vet

²⁹ Ibid., 262.

³⁰ Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (London: Yale University Press, 2001), 81.

³¹ A. G. Rosser, “Communities of Parish and Guild in the Late Middle Ages,” in *Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion, 1350-1750*, ed. S. J. Wright (London: Hutchinson, 1988), 38.

³² Caroline M. Barron, “The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London,” in *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society: Essays in Honour of F.R.H. Du Boulay*, ed. Caroline M. Barron and Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 1985), 23.

new applicants, and some even discriminated by national origin.³³ The fraternity was thus very clearly a ‘community of interest’ that, while restrictive in some senses, ‘transcended the social boundaries which usually circumscribed the lives of Londoners’.³⁴ Fraternities also often could, and did, transcend physical boundaries – Rosser notes that merchant guilds, such as the Holy Cross guild of Stratford-upon-Avon, drew membership from both the town and its economic hinterland, thus giving ‘outsiders an identity and a role’ when they came to trade.³⁵ However, Brigden has argued that, especially at least in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, when several fraternities were established at friaries, membership of such a guild not only transcended geographical boundaries, but also enabled individuals to escape them by providing a different venue for the brotherhood to hear mass, crucially with the control over choice of clergy and liturgy.³⁶ Fraternities *could* thus represent a rejection of parochial community life.

Nevertheless, ‘community’ is not exclusive - ‘the argument that these two structures [guild and parish] expressed a mutual hostility, or a rooted divergence of interests, does not stand up to examination’.³⁷ Indeed, most fraternities were located within parish churches, and the existence of a number of mendicant-housed fraternities is more revealing of ‘the vitality and popularity of the mendicant’. Rosser also highlighted the importance of guild communities as a way of asserting communal choice in opposition to traditional structures, but in a positive sense. Westminster, his case study, was merely a vill throughout the medieval period, yet the members of the Guild of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary effectively fulfilled the role of a borough council.³⁸ The consensus on fraternities is now generally held to emphasize this reduplicating yet voluntary function; their potential as a subversive form of alternative community is now seldom emphasized by historians.

³³ H. C. Coote, “The Ordinances of Some Secular Guilds of London from 1354 to 1496,” *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 4 (1871): 1-59.

³⁴ Brigden, “Religion and Social Obligation in Early Sixteenth-Century London,” 98.

³⁵ Rosser, “Communities of Parish and Guild in the Late Middle Ages,” 33.

³⁶ Brigden, “Religion and Social Obligation in Early Sixteenth-Century London,” 100.

³⁷ Rosser, “Communities of Parish and Guild in the Late Middle Ages,” 42.

³⁸ A. G. Rosser, “The Essence of Medieval Urban Communities: The Vill of Westminster, 1200-1540,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th ser.* 34 (1984): 106.

Neighbourhood Histories

If institutions have been well studied in their ability to unite individuals across physical boundaries, the potential of the abstract physical neighbourhood to unite individuals across social boundaries has been relatively neglected. Peter and Jennifer Clark undertook the first notable study in which the concept of neighbourhood was a prominent theme investigating the suburbs of Canterbury during the mid sixteenth-century. While defining their unit of study by parish, since this was the basis of their primary source – a census of 1563, they recognised that ‘the street was the cardinal unit of social communication in the pre-industrial town’ and attempted to establish the scale of neighbourly interaction.³⁹ They were particularly concerned to calculate the number of ‘primary order linkages’ between households, which were defined as:

Acting as a witness, executor or overseer of someone’s will; appraiser of an inventory; compurgator for someone in a church court case; surety for a bond; taking a nearby child into service; acting jointly with someone in business matters or social activities (including gossiping); women slandering each other.⁴⁰

Using these indicators, available from relatively standard sources available for the medieval and early modern periods, they sought to establish both the incidence and range of relationships. The results showed that, at and above the level of craftsmen, linkages were both common and wide in range, yet at lower social strata declined in both respects.⁴¹ However this ignores the fact that those of lower social standing were simply less likely to engage in probate activity, or be called as compurgators. Nonetheless, the Clarks found vertical as well as horizontal social linkages, as well as occupational bias. Victuallers were possessed of the highest number of neighbourhood linkages, while widows tended to associate mainly with other widows rather than the wider local community. Thus they began to shed light on the character of the local social world. Yet a major limitation of the study was the lack of high-resolution data as to residence by street. They considered the entire area as a single neighbourhood: despite the recognition of the street as ‘cardinal unit of social communication’, it could not be included as a category of analysis in the evaluation of the linkages discovered.

Jeremy Boulton’s 1987 *Neighbourhood and Society* investigated similar themes in the London suburb of Southwark, aiming to establish ‘the existence or otherwise of an urban local system’ by

³⁹ P. Clark and J. Clark, “The Social Economy of the Canterbury Suburbs: The Evidence of the Census of 1563,” in *Studies in Modern Kentish History: Presented to Felix Hull and Elizabeth Melling*, ed. N. A. Y. Detsicas (Maidstone, 1983), 80.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid., 82.

seeking to gauge the extent to which the social and economic life of individuals took place within the locality'.⁴² Boulton's methodology was different, making use of a series of early seventeenth-century token books. He was able to identify the location of residence of all parishioners, and by cross-referencing with parish registers and other documents, able also to identify the occupations and further details of 68% of them. Confirming the findings of other community studies by emphasizing the importance of social capital and office holding in the local area, he concluded that while 'a substantial minority of households participated actively in the local administration, all householders were caught up in some way or other with the local courts, local officialdom or local bureaucracy'.⁴³

Boulton considered a further issue: 'The degree of residential mobility and stability is particularly important for those interested in the existence or otherwise of urban 'communities'. Many authorities believe that the population turnover and sheer size of London produced *anomie* in a manner similar to that described for nineteenth and twentieth century cities'.⁴⁴ Amongst the marriages recorded in 1655, 83% were between two partners both living in the parish, with a further 8.7% involving one partner from the wards of London surrounding the bridge – clearly social life was occurring in the local area, and children were likely to stay in the area once married.⁴⁵ Further examination of the token book series revealed that 43% of households were 'persistent' in the parish studied after 10 years – much higher than the equivalent figure of 28% for the smaller London parishes of St Christopher le Stocks during the 1570s and St Margaret Lothbury in the 1640s, calculated by Finlay. Nevertheless, the population of the area was far from static and, despite this 'parochial persistence', only 24% of Banksiders were resident at a particular address for the ten year period – rising to 32% amongst those wealthy enough to be poor-rate payers in 1631.⁴⁶ Mobility therefore generally operated only over short distances, generally between different alleys or yards adjoining Borough High Street – seemingly as a result of the unsettled tenure to which most non-freeholders were subject. Boulton therefore concluded that:

⁴² Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century*, 230.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 268.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 206.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 235.

⁴⁶ Roger A. P. Finlay, *Population and Metropolis: The Demography of London, 1580-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 46; Jeremy Boulton, "Residential Mobility in Seventeenth-Century Southwark," *Urban History Yearbook* (1986): 11.

Many Bankside householders may have possessed geographically restricted social horizons, living out much of their lives within a local social system. Such a society contained many networks of relationships between landlord and tenant, employer and employee, borrower and lender, kin and neighbours.⁴⁷

Historical enquiry into the question of neighbourhood has established some core questions, and core methodologies; primarily the examination of the number of social functions which occur inside the local area – or the ‘density’ of its social networks, and secondly the persistence of individuals which enables social contacts to develop over time. The first of these questions is naturally the most difficult to assess, but these studies prove that historical social network analysis is possible, in a restricted and somewhat basic form, using relatively standard probate, legal, parochial and, where available, taxation records. Such records are naturally biased toward official and administrative details – only representing only subsets of the ‘communities’ to which they relate. But crucially, the effective operation of these institutions, motivated by the accumulation of social capital by those involved, could, and often did, bring together those within their reach. Naturally, as ‘neighbourhood’ is not a delineated concept, it is not possible to recreate a historical neighbourhood with precision, yet the component networks which operated, along with their inter-connections, can be visible to historical study, and can at least suggest a ‘flavour’ of the *communities* that shaped the lives that were lived within neighbourhoods.

Objectives

The big question in local community study is the extent to which the interactions between individuals are restricted to, or concentrated on, the area around the residence. If they are – thereby overlapping and reinforcing one another – they provide the daily contact and integration between people which is assumed to represent the heart of the historic community.⁴⁸

This study fundamentally addresses the question of the relationship between local and wider concerns – the local and the civic – within fifteenth-century London. Rather than attempting to examine evidence for local life from the centre, however, it employs amassed evidence of local behaviours to gain an impression of the degree to which social life in the city was conducted on a local basis, and how this changed through the fifteenth century.

Central to the study is the question of quite how far a local area within a late-medieval city can be seen as a ‘neighbourhood’. A small area of fifteenth-century London, four parishes immediately to the north of London Bridge, referred to here as the Bridgehead, are employed as a case study in examining the extent to which social interactions took place within, and were framed by, the locality. To what extent did London exhibit modern characteristics of social fluidity, individuality,

⁴⁷ Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century*, 291.

⁴⁸ Davies and Herbert, *Communities Within Cities: an Urban Social Geography*, 64.

and extra-local sociability that have been termed the 'soft city', or how representative was it of 'traditional society'?⁴⁹

It also addresses further questions relating to the stability of the City of the London in the fifteenth century. Did the social changes described by Archer and Rappaport represent a continuation of trends already established during the fifteenth century? How did relationships between the civic government, trades and companies, and local elites, and the general population, change over the course of the fifteenth century? Did the relationship between trade and locality alter as the fifteenth century progressed? Did the role of the parish increase in importance through the century?

⁴⁹ Jonathan Raban, *Soft City* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1974), 2.

2 Methodologies and Sources

Study of a nebulous concept such as neighbourhood requires the use of diverse records and diverse methodologies. The records documenting local society in the fifteenth century that survive tend to relate to institutional life or formal legal instruments, rather than directly representing personal interactions. The limited range of materials creates problems of interpretation. Nonetheless they can be made to serve as invaluable windows into the lives of medieval Londoners by employing a range of methodologies, adapted from the social sciences, as well as those established within the discipline of history.

Surviving documents such as wills and deeds were created for very specific purposes, and contain very specific information that elucidates only a limited range of issues. Nonetheless they allow analysis to reveal certain key insights in terms of personal interactions. This section describes the two key methodological strands in this study relate to the study of place, and the study of people, and the availability and application of relevant source materials.

Deeds are used throughout this thesis to recreate the physical, and the social, worlds of the neighbourhood. In addition to the established methodology of reconstructing tenement histories using deeds, Conzenian morphology is employed to reconstruct medieval street patterns, and Space Syntax Analysis is used to analyse the relationship between space and human activity. In addition to deeds, wills are used to reconstruct the social element of the neighbourhood. Study of multiple individuals has been summarised as prosopography or ‘collective biography’: this study will form, in some senses, a prosopographical picture of the inhabitants of the Bridgehead area.

Sample

In this study a sample ‘neighbourhood’ has been defined using the boundaries of parishes. Neighbourhood is not coterminous with parish, and parishes have only been selected as a unit of study because they were frequently used in medieval documents to define a location, and many sources are rooted in the parish as an institution. Neighbourhood is an expansive term without solid definition, and it is almost certain that in a context such as London, with such density of parishes, what could be identified as a neighbourhood would encompass more than one parish. For this reason four contiguous parishes, which span two city wards, have been selected to give sample coverage over a reasonable area, allowing examination of relationships across institutional boundaries. These parishes are: St Magnus the Martyr and St Margaret Bridge Street (Fish Street Hill) which lay primarily within the ward of Bridge Within, but span into the ward of Billingsgate, which was home to the parishes of St Botolph Billingsgate and St Mary at Hill (Figure 2.1). These particular parishes are selected for two reasons. They were located in an interesting topographical

region of the city – three of them fronting the river Thames, and all containing some of the city’s primary thoroughfares – their resultant prosperity meant that they generated significant amounts of documentation, much of which survives. Each of the churches possesses at least one document from the later fifteenth-century: a visitation record from St Magnus, a full set of Churchwardens’ accounts for St Mary and cartularies from both St Margaret and St Botolph. Standing together to the north and north-east of the head of London Bridge and around the jetties used by ferries, these parishes comprise what in this study is referred to as the ‘Bridgehead’ of medieval London.

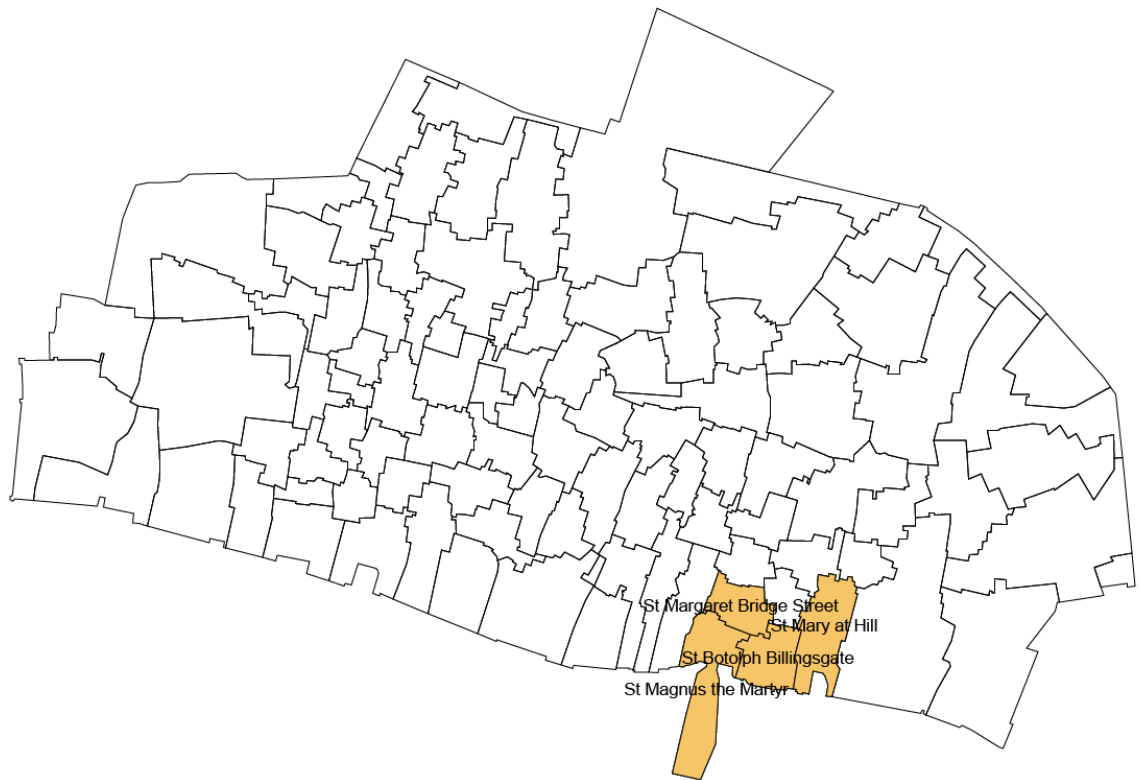


Figure 2.1 – Sampled parishes within map of London’s medieval parishes.

2.1 Reconstructing the History of Space

As a methodological approach to urban history, the study of property needs no apology. Not only is the documentation profuse, it also starts at an earlier date than most other written record series. Hence, it can be an extraordinarily fruitful source for tracing long-term changes in the urban economy, the urban environment, urban form, and the regulation of urban life.¹

The study of property, its ownership, use, and the interplay of individuals connected with it, is well established. Notable projects have studied entire medieval towns, including Winchester, and more recently Chester.² Indeed, such research has already been conducted into landholding in medieval London – most notably in the ‘Cheapside Project’ lead by Derek Keene in the 1980s, which resulted in the production of comprehensive tenement histories for five parishes in Cheapside between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries.³ The documents available to the historian of urban properties include property transactions, property covenants, surveys and rental accounts.⁴

London has a plentiful supply of deeds, provided by enrolment in the Court of Husting. Enrolment of property deeds was a right of all boroughs, but was never mandatory – rather it was a desirable confirmation of deeds – ‘It was both private wisdom and public policy for men to secure witnesses to their dealings, and there could be no better body of witnesses than the common tribunal’.⁵ Prior to the Great Fire of 1666 over 30,000 deeds were enrolled in this court, half of these during the fourteenth century.⁶ The Husting, named from the Scandinavian *þing* or ‘parliament’ for

¹ Vanessa Harding, “Space, Property, and Propriety in Urban England,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32, no. 4: 551.

² Derek Keene, *Survey of Medieval Winchester*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1985); “Mapping Medieval Chester: Mapping Medieval Chester: place and identity in an English borderland city c.1200-1500,” <http://www.medievalchester.ac.uk/index.html>.

³ Derek Keene and Vanessa Harding, *Historical Gazetteer of London before the Great Fire - Cheapside: parishes of All Hallows Honey Lane, St Martin Pomary, St Mary le Bow, St Mary Colechurch and St Pancras Soper Lane* (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 1987).

⁴ A. J. Scrase, “Working with British Property Records: The Potential and the Problems,” in *Power, Profit and Urban Land*, ed. F. E. Eliassen and G. A. Ersland (Aldershot, Hants.: Scolar, 1996), 18.

⁵ Geoffrey H. Martin, “The Registration of Deeds of Title in the Medieval Borough,” in *The Study of Medieval Records: Essays in Honour of Kathleen Major*, ed. D.A. Bullough and R.L. Storey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 155.

⁶ Derek Keene, “The Use of Documentary Sources in Studying the Topography and Archaeology of Medieval London,” *Lübecker Schriften zur Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte* 7 (1983): 78.

householders – ‘*hus-thing*’, was established by the tenth century. Until around 1300 it dealt with all manner of legal cases, but by the fourteenth century primarily functioned as a court of record, and as the venue of the election of London’s MPs. The court was located at the west end of the Guildhall prior to the rebuilding of 1411, and subsequently at the east; it sat twice a week, once to consider Common Pleas, and once to deal with Pleas of Land. Although wills could apparently be enrolled onto the ‘Roll of Wills and Deeds’ (which was separate from the main court rolls) on either day, deeds were generally enrolled on the Monday sitting of the court.⁷

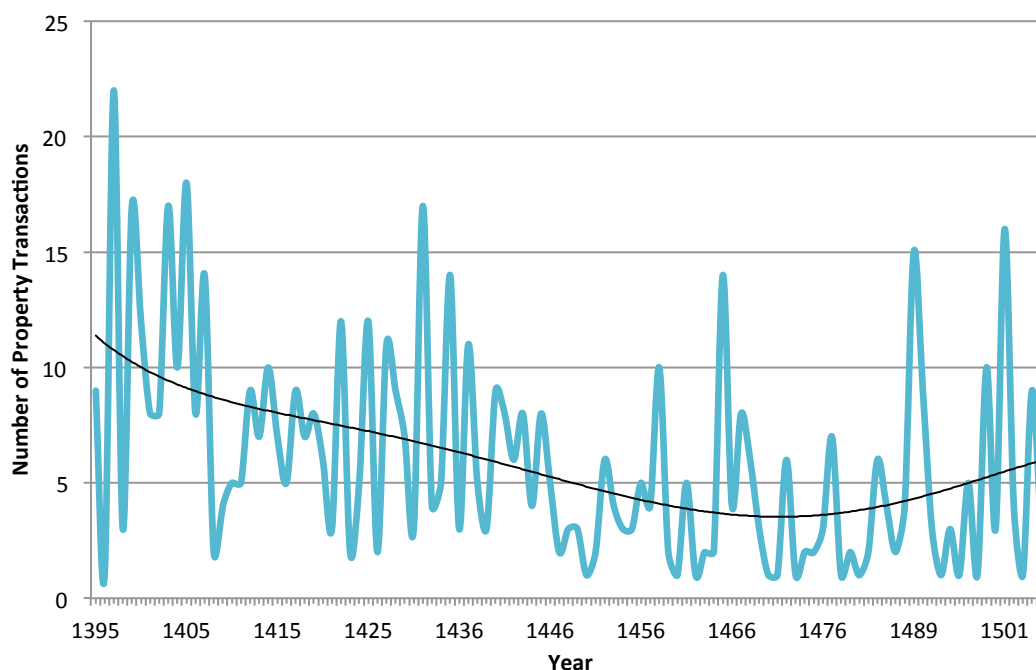


Figure 2.2 - Total numbers of recorded property transactions by year, 1395-1505, collated from Husting Rolls and all other sources, with polynomial trend-line (n=630).

Property deeds, primarily enrolled in the Husting, constitute by far the greatest number of contemporary documentation for London’s topographic history. However, availability of documents is not uniform throughout the fifteenth century, reflecting both methods of enrolment and thus survival, and the health of the economy. Figure 2.2 illustrates the numbers of property transactions available, showing a gradual decline throughout the majority of the fifteenth century. The greater part of this decline is accounted for by falling numbers of Husting enrolments, while the growth in the latter decades of the century is largely composed of deeds from other sources.

Other sources of deeds include the collections of institutions that survived the Reformation, primarily the Bridge House, St Paul’s cathedral, some of the city’s hospitals and a number of Livery Companies. Few other documents are available to discuss medieval topography: some useful details

⁷ Penelope Tucker, *Law Courts and Lawyers in the City of London, 1300-1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 92, 136.

of individual properties appear in disputes conducted in the Husting Pleas of Land, although the number of cases is greatly reduced in the fifteenth century. Rentals and surveys survive only in the cases of the Bridge House and a small number of parish churches and ecclesiastical institutions.⁸ While a full survey or comprehensive rentals for large numbers of known properties, as found for other medieval towns, would make the reconstruction of property history easier, it is generally possible to recreate the details of most properties using Husting deeds.

The degree to which deeds enrolled in the Husting are representative of the totality of property conveyancing, and accurate to the original deeds, can be demonstrated using a small number of transactions that survive in both forms. Fifteen deeds relating to the parish of St Margaret Bridge Street exist in original sealed form in the collections of the Fishmongers' Company – amongst these only four were enrolled in the Husting Roll of Deeds and Wills (Table 2.1). Similarly, of nine quitclaims amongst the same collection, only two also appear in the Husting Rolls. While this is a small sample, it represents the cumulative collection of deeds associated with all properties that came into the ownership of the Fishmongers' in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. If such a small fractions of known property transfer transactions were enrolled in the rolls of the court, doing so was not deemed as that important by the majority of those engaging in property transfer.

Those transactions found in the Husting Rolls are almost exclusively those that deal with the transfer of entire properties, or establishment of new sub-divisions, between individuals with no obvious connections. By contrast, those found in the collection of original deeds include grants of rents and the transfer of properties to attorneys, together with subsequent final transfers to new owners. A relatively high proportion of transfers by gift or feoffment found amongst the deeds do not appear in Husting, but do not have an obvious reason for their absence. The only conclusion is that many property owners simply did not see enrolment in Husting as important in the fifteenth century. It has previously been observed that the number of transactions in Husting declines after a peak in the fourteenth century, but it has been unclear whether this reflected the property market in general or simply the activity of the court.⁹ The presence of so many more deeds in the Fishmongers' collection than can be found enrolled thus confirms that the number of transactions in Husting cannot be regarded as representative of the activity in the property market in the later medieval period.

⁸ Ibid., 143; Derek Keene and Vanessa Harding, *A Survey of Documentary Sources for Property Holding in London Before the Great Fire* (London: London Record Society, 1985); see for example: Husting Pleas of Land: CLA/023/PL/01; Bridge House Rentals: CLA/007/FN/02; Fishmongers Deeds: GL MS06686 – 06718.

⁹ Tucker, *Law Courts and Lawyers in the City of London, 1300-1550*, 142.

Another pattern amongst the deeds not duplicated in Husting is the fact that the great majority – nine of eleven gifts and feoffments – carry no witnessing clauses. Those deeds enrolled in Husting, both gifts and feoffments, were usually witnessed by between five and twelve local individuals. The original deeds, while all carrying seals, are not witnessed (with two exceptions), and thus apparently rely only on the seals for authentication. Those two deeds that are not duplicated with Husting but are witnessed carry the standard formula for witnessing carried in the Husting Rolls, as do two of those that duplicate Husting enrolments. However, a further two deeds found both in Husting and in original form *do not* bear witnessing on the originals, but do in their enrolments. This exception is highly significant, for it strongly suggests that the witnessing of a deed was part of the process of *enrolment*, rather than of the process of creating a deed, within London custom. This is confirmed by the presence on the majority of deeds present in both locations of a note on the original document, in contemporary, but differing, hand, giving details of the enrolment in Husting, using standard dating convention.¹⁰

Thus the individual deeds found within the Fishmongers' collection can be regarded as 'originals', concluded, written and sealed in private circumstances (although not necessarily private locations) and *then* presented for enrolment in the court if deemed appropriate. At this stage it was evidently necessary to provide witnesses to testify to the veracity of the document, and the scribe added appropriate clauses to the court copy. Those few deeds which it has not been possible to locate in Husting, but which do carry Husting-style witnessing (e.g. GL MS 6694/4) might have been drawn up by a scribe familiar with Husting practice, in confusion, or as a copy of a deed enrolled in Husting which it has not been possible to locate.

¹⁰ e.g. GL MS 6696/1/9 relative to HR 217/28

Table 2.1 – Original Deeds and Husting equivalents relating to St Margaret Bridge Street. (GL MS 6694, 6696, 6700, 6714; HR)

MS Ref	Date MS	Husting	Enrolled	Summary	Gift\Enfeoff.	Witnessed
6694\3	29/04/1425	(151/15)	(07/06/1423)	John Cornewaleys and Robert fiz Hugh, rector, to William Bailly, Robert Whaplode and Richard Claidich.	Gift + feoff	Y (7)
6696\1\16	20/12/1425			William Baillys, Robert Whaplode hosteller, and Richard Claidich cleric to Walter atte Water and William Downe	Gift of rent	N
6694\4	11/01/1433			William Bailly linendraper to Thomas Brunce cleric, Henry Penwortham cleric, John Bacon, Thomas Lyon etc.	Gift	Y(5)
6696\2\3	13/06/1442			Thomas Brune John Westende, Richard Claidich, Thomas Lyon, through attorney John Empyngham etc.	Feoffment	N
6694\2	12/06/1442			Thomas Brunce, John Westende, Richard Claidich and Thomas Lyoun, to John Stepyugdon, Robert Watton etc.	Gift + feoff	Y(5)
6696\1\4	22/06/1456			Thomas Tanfeld of Oxford, William Watton, William Pellycan, Thomas Skelton and William Sondes, to Alice Styward, an annual rent of 100s	Feoffment	N
6700\4	02/12/1488	218/11	04/01/1489	William Cokkys rector of St Margaret Bridge Street and James Smith fishmonger, and John Wheteler grocer	Feoffment	Y(7)
6696\1\12	20/03/1489			William Cokkys, rector of St Margaret in Bridge Street, James Smyth fishmonger, and John John Wheteley grocer	Gift	N
6696\1\9	23/4/1495	217/28	21/06/1498	Edmund Watton to John Howton	Gift	N
6696\1\2	25/11/1496			Edmund Watton gentleman to Robert Imham, grocer	Feoffment	N
6696\2\6	23/11/1498			William Cattelyn and John Howton generosius, by present charter confirm Henry Fane, Alexander Colepepper etc.	Gift	N
6696\2\10	08/01/1499	225/6	04/02/1499 (29/01/1499)	John Marston Fishmonger to Thomas Kneseworth , shop Crooked Lane	Gift	N
6696\2\12	05/02/1499			Robert Dunham grocer, noting charter of Edmund Watton and William Cokk	Gift	N
6696\1\3	06/05/1502			Henry Fane to Edmund Watton	Gift	N
6696\1\1	1/1/1505			Alexander Culpeper, armiger, and others to Thomas Kneseworth	Gift + feoff	N

Property Holding Processes

The majority of surviving documentation of property transactions relates to permanent transfers of properties, as enrolment in Husting was primarily designed to prevent future ambiguity as to ownership. It was seldom deemed necessary to register leases, as it was possible to prosecute non-paying tenants without doing so, as long as the ultimate ownership of the property was known. While short-term leases were undoubtedly the most common means of transferring occupation of a property, they left little or no record. Discussion of property therefore focuses almost entirely upon ownership, rather than necessarily occupation.

‘Gift’ or Sale

The most basic form of property transaction was a ‘gift’ – not literally in the modern sense of transferring ownership without payment – but because it had ‘no strings attached’. Once ‘gifted’, property was unquestionably in the hands of the recipient. These transactions are easily recognised by the opening phrase:

‘Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego...’

The text of a ‘gift’ grant is generally in the past tense, reflecting the fundamental legal concept that it is the intention to grant something, and the physical process of doing so, that matters above any written record thereof. A basic charter deed of ‘gift’ therefore simply records the granting of the land, theoretically by the symbolic process of ‘livery of seisin’ whereby both parties meet at the property in question, and the grantor provides the grantee with a symbol of ownership. In practice this was not conducted in a ritual manner but rather simply entailed the grantee entering the property unchallenged.¹¹ These simple transactions are associated with the earlier medieval periods, but were still exceedingly common in the fifteenth century records.

Feoffment

Enfeoffment is a complex facet of medieval English law, yet at the most basic level represents simply another means of transferring title that evolved during the medieval period. In essence all conveyances of land were a form of feoffment, for in its most basic form it is simply a gift where a freehold is the subject of the transaction.¹² Principally it explicitly transferred land in fee simple;

¹¹ Frederick Pollock and Frederic William Maitland, *The History of English Law Before the Time of Edward I*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: University press, 1911), 2, p.83 .

¹² Ibid., 2, p.82.

that is without entail and with full rights of resale and inheritance. This was signified by reference to the 'livery of seisin' that symbolised the physical and unambiguous transfer of the property.¹³

However, the use of the verb 'to enfeof' distinguishes a transaction that can have more detailed provisions, and complex forms. Deeds using this method of transfer are again recognizable by their standard phraseology:

'Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presentes ... dedisse, concessisse, et hoc presenti scripto meo indentato confirmasse ...'

By the mid fifteenth century this form of transfer was at least as popular as the simpler gift. Among those original deeds from the Fishmongers' Company cache, roughly equal numbers use either of the methods. Toward the beginning of the fifteenth century, where feoffment was employed, it was more often combined with the phraseology of the 'gift', while toward the beginning of the sixteenth century this was apparently generally thought unnecessary (Table 2.1).¹⁴

'Enfeoffment' also describes more complex legal processes, such as 'enfeoffment to use'. This refers to the conveyance of land by enfeoffment to a group of individuals, on the condition that it was to be used by another individual or individuals, or for a specific purpose. This enabled lands to be held 'in trust', for example when a merchant was overseas, or to convey property to children bypassing inheritance custom. Other uses included the appointment of attorneys: amongst the Fishmongers' deeds, for example, Thomas Brunce, John Westende, Richard Claidich, and Thomas Lyon appointed Fishmongers John Empyngnam and Robert Buoyas their attorneys in the transfer of their property to John Stoppyngdon, Robert Watton, John Watton, John Dysse and John Thomas on 12 June 1442. On the same day the transaction is completed in the name of the original grantors as a gift transaction, which also employed feoffment.¹⁵ However, although joint feoffments were very common, deeds declaring the use of such feoffments are very rare.¹⁶

The most common use of enfeoffment to use in later medieval London was to form a 'trust' for institutional purposes. In the case of the creation of a chantry, or the donation of lands to a church or guild for other purposes, it was necessary to obtain a license under the Statute of Mortmain, incurring the payment of a fine, which was recorded in the Patent Rolls. Enfeoffment to use provided a way of evading the statute. Instead of donating property to a church or guild as a

¹³ "Freehold land - Deeds in Depth - Skills Resources - Manuscripts & Special Collections- The University of Nottingham," <http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/mss/learning/skills/deeds-depth/freehold.phtml>.

¹⁴ GL MS 6694, 6696, 6700, 6714; HR.

¹⁵ GL MS 6696/2/3, 6694/2.

¹⁶ J. L. Barton, "The Medieval Use," *Law Quarterly Review* 81 (1965): 571-2.

corporation, or to its officers (rector, churchwarden, master etc.) *ex officio*, which created a legal relationship between the institution and the property, thus invoking mortmain, enfeoffments were made to nominated individuals. These individuals, commonly twelve, usually represented the office holders of the institution, but without explicitly specifying the use to which the land was enfeoffed. As long as feoffees were periodically replaced the arrangement could theoretically continue in perpetuity.¹⁷ Under the mortmain regulations of 1391 this application of enfeoffment to use was prohibited, but its use appears to have continued.¹⁸ Amongst the Fishmongers' deeds from the parish of St Margaret Bridge Street, in 1505 the owners of the 'Sterre' inn on Bridge Street conveyed their property to Richard Stockwell, Thomas Kneseworth, William Copynger, Nicholas Mattok, William Gerard, William Whaplode, William Barde, John Felde, Ralph Symond, Gerald Danvell, Thomas Knott, and Ralph Tomson – all Fishmongers.¹⁹ These twelve individuals were the recipients, without specification of the capacity in which they were acting, or for any use of the property. That this represented the transfer of the property into the hands of the Fishmongers' Company only confirmed by the fact this is the final deed in the sequence, and is preserved in the collection of the company.

The opposite process to enfeoffment to use was 'collusive' or 'common recovery'. This was an elaborate procedure designed to establish title to land unequivocally, for example by breaking entails. Through a process of legal fictions, it was possible to establish a new owner with conclusive rights over a property that over-ruled any previous attempts at establishing perpetual services or restrictions. Drawing upon the concept of the warranty that was attached to a feoffment, this process involved getting a semi-fictional landless man to sign a quitclaim on a property, and then causing the purchaser or even simply an associate to sue the owner or vendor, who in turn would vouch the warranty of the third party. At this point the landless man would disappear from court, be found in contempt, and the judgement would be awarded to the purchaser, who would then receive the property in fee simple. As the warrantor was landless, no damages could be reclaimed from him, and thus this position developed as a paid role for the poor. By the 1470s this process was described as 'common', and was used both to break entails and other restrictions, and to simply

¹⁷ Sandra Raban, *Mortmain Legislation and the English Church, 1279-1500* (Cambridge University Press, 1982), 93.

¹⁸ Barton, "The Medieval Use," 573.

¹⁹ GL MS 6696/1/1.

establish title.²⁰ In London the Husting Pleas of Land sessions were almost entirely dominated by this process in the fifteenth century, which is not within the focus of this study.²¹

Feoffment was also used to secure loans upon properties. This can be seen in those transactions apparently granting 'all goods and chattels', often without any specification of what or where, to another individual or group of individuals. Legal title was transferred to the lender, which would then be returned, assuming that the loan was repaid. This is almost never explicitly stated, presumably to avoid accusations of usury. One case in the Plea and Memoranda Rolls provides an example of the arrangements that may have been entailed in such transactions. During the 1470s Baptist Pynchon, gentleman, sold five properties to Gilbert Belamy, goldsmith, for the value of £300, receiving 'in hand' £224 7s 8 ½ d. The grantee was to 'recover' the land in the Husting Pleas of Land, and would have the option of returning the £300 in exchange for the properties and their deeds within eight years, Gilbert being bound on a bond of £600 to uphold the covenant.²² This example elucidates numerous cases of grants and returning grants amongst the Husting Deeds, exposing the process of a commercial loan. Typically granted by a wealthy goldsmith, the discrepancy between the cash available 'in hand' and the value to be repaid represented the true cost of interest charged in this transaction in a thinly veiled attempt to avoid accusations of usury.

Bequests of Land

Real property in London was held by burgage tenure, therefore landowners could easily devise their property to whomsoever they wished.²³ Broadly speaking most Londoners obeyed the expectation that their movable estate should be bequeathed as thirds: a third to their spouse, a third to their children and third to charity (and/or the church). London had long claimed the right to devise land freely by will, yet after the 1279 statute *de Religiosis* this was subject to challenge and confusion. The City's privilege in this respect was upheld with varied success. In 1391, however, a new Statute of Mortmain greatly tightened regulation and required retrospective payment of fines on land held in mortmain. By 1434 the City reached a compromise, allowing freemen to devise in mortmain

²⁰ Charles D. Spinosa, "The Legal Reasoning behind the Common, Collusive Recovery: Taltarum's Case (1472)," *The American Journal of Legal History* 36, no. 1 (January 1992): 76. Joseph Biancalana, *The Fee Tail and Common Recovery in Medieval England, 1176-1502* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

²¹ Tucker, *Law Courts and Lawyers in the City of London, 1300-1550*, 71.

²² Ibid., 73; A. H. Thomas and P. E. Jones, eds., *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1458-82, p.111.; HR 168(41d)

²³ Clive Burgess, "Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered," in *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England*, ed. Michael Hicks (Gloucester: 1990), 21.

strictly for their own purposes alone, a right reaffirmed in 1457.²⁴ In 1429 Thomas Mockyng included the following injunction with his bequest of property SMM B X, the 'Castle on the Hoop', to the parish of St Magnus:

And if at the time of the testator's death citizens of London may not bequeath in mortmain as they have been accustomed to do in the past or if after the testator's decease such tenements bequeathed in mortmain are withdrawn from mortmain by statute or legal processes by which the testator's afore-written bequests from his tenement and three shops are invalidated then testator bequeaths that the said tenement and shops be sold by the rector and four parishioners of the said church of St Magnus, money issuing from the sale to be distributed for testators soul and souls aforesaid in pious and charitable work.²⁵

Evidently this bequest was successful, for later abutments refer to the property as 'lately of Thomas Mockyng, now of the church of St Magnus'.²⁶ There is no trace of a grant of a License in Mortmain for Thomas Mockyng amongst the patent rolls, suggesting that the right of freemen to grant in mortmain was indeed upheld.

The aspects of inheritance that provide most interest in terms of real property are those involving conditionality. Commonly this would take the form of restrictions placed upon inheritance by widows, and sometimes upon heirs. In some cases testators sought to accommodate the obligations for providing for their widows simply by providing a rent for their lifetime from property bequeathed to others. Richard Wynter, in his will of 1412, for example, bequeathed his leased tenement (SMM H1) to John Michell, a fellow Stockfishmonger, with the stipulation that he should:

render thereof yearly to said Elizabeth testators wife during her lifetime the said 100s rent bequeathed by testator in form as given above and also as the dower of the same Elizabeth belonging hereof to her. After John's decease, remainder to his son Richard Michell to for life on said terms.²⁷

Ultimately the lease reverted to the Minoresses. Overall, however, it would seem that the majority of bequests of real property occurred without complication, and most reversioners never actually came to possess the lands to which they might at some stage be able to claim title.

²⁴ Helena M. Chew, "Mortmain in Medieval London," *The English Historical Review* 60, no. 236 (1945): 13-16.

²⁵ HR 157(56).

²⁶ HR 186(32).

²⁷ HR 140(53).

Conzenian Morphology

Fortunately for this study, the Museum of London's Tony Dyson Archive Project had already begun digitising the tenement histories of seventeen parishes leading west to east along Thames Street, including three of those considered here: St Magnus the Martyr, St Botolph Billingsgate and St Mary at Hill. This was the work of the 'Waterfront Project', led by Tony Dyson, at the Museum of London during the 1980s, which aimed to provide a documentary history for all of the archaeological sites that had been excavated along the riverfront in the 1970s during an intensive phase of redevelopment.²⁸ The library of deeds accumulated and summarised onto index-cards remains as a valuable basis for the further exploration of economic activity and personal networks. These records have been digitised as part of this study, and augmented with records relating to St Margaret Bridge Street, collated from all of the archival sources mentioned.

Like many medieval records, deeds are exceedingly formulaic – throughout England, and throughout the centuries, the standard introductions, methods of describing property and of warranting title to it are generally recognizable – only specific details of conditions attached to the grant (which can run to many pages) provide variation.²⁹ Amongst the most formulaic passage is the description of the property relative to its abutments:

*Videlicet inter venellam de Crokedlane ibidem ex parte boriali et shopam pertinentem ecclesie Sancte Margarete predictus ex parte australi ac tenementum pertinentum heredum Georgii Lovell que Ricardus Brando modo tenet et occupat in parte tam ex parte australi quam ex parte occidentali et regiam viam ibidem vocatus Bruggestrete ex parte orientali.*³⁰

This deed from 1499 is entirely typical. The abutments detailed allow the piecing together of a 'jigsaw' of neighbours, while an abutment to a road allows location of a property to a particular street, reference to a known feature, such as a church allows the 'fixing' of a few properties to known locations, as do abutments placing a property in the corner of two streets. Tracing the succession of ownership of properties, based upon known owners appearing as vendors, and by relative location, enables the creation of a list of not only the known holders of that property, but of its neighbouring properties. By exhaustively collating all known deeds for a given parish and street, it is possible to combine these known 'tenement histories' to fit together the 'jigsaw puzzle' of tenements known to occupy each side of a street (Figure 2.3). In order to organize these sequences of transactions, an alphanumeric code is assigned, based upon the parish and the individual street

²⁸ Tony Dyson, *Documents and Archaeology: The Medieval London Waterfront* (London: Museum of London & Stanhope Properties, 1989), 15.

²⁹ Martin, "The Registration of Deeds of Title in the Medieval Borough," 157.

³⁰ HR 225(6).

frontage where the property was located, with the most important street in each parish signified by ‘A’ and ‘B’, with ‘W’ referring to the riverside. Numbering runs from junctions with the chosen primary street. For example, ‘SMH A1’ refers to the first tenement on the north side of Thames Street in St Mary at Hill.

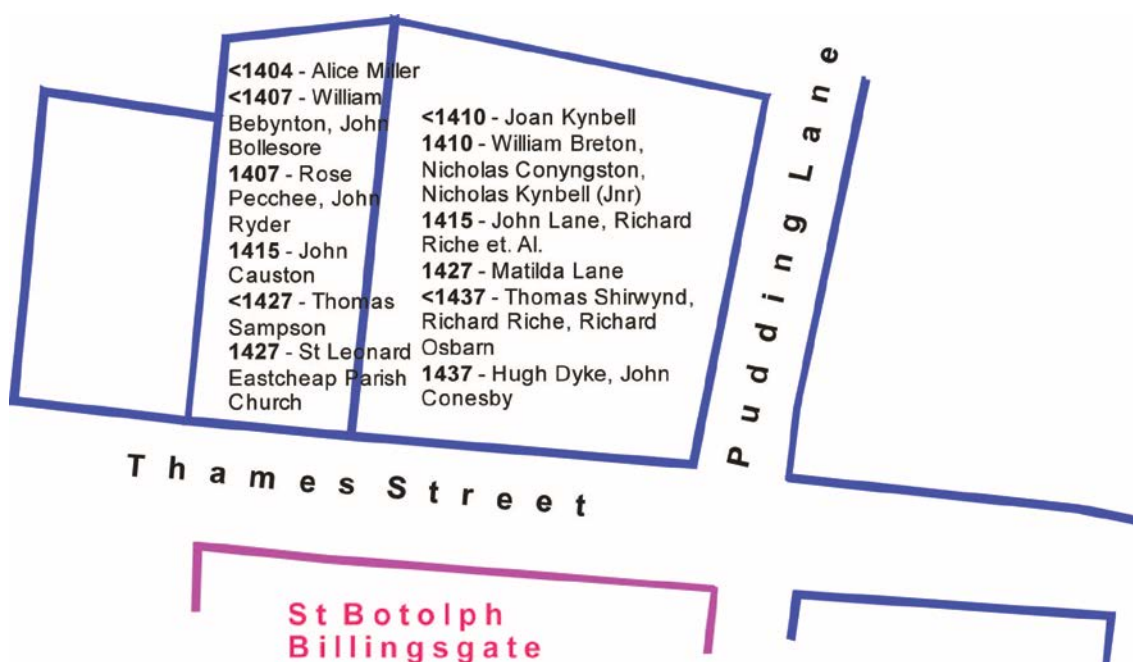


Figure 2.3 – Tenement history reconstruction illustrated from the corner of Thames Street and Pudding Lane

Deeds almost always relate to entire tenements, which could comprise many shops and housing units, meaning that they almost always include reference to a street or public lane. Ogilby and Morgan’s map of 1676 was the first cartographically accurate representation, depicting the city as rebuilt after the fire, but following existing property boundaries and street patterns.³¹ Therefore it is a relatively simple task to establish the relationship between properties described in deeds and the streets to which they refer. This plotting of locations known only in relative terms onto a cartographic representation is made possible through street maps created by adapting these early maps. Map Regression involves morphing the features of progressively earlier maps to fit the dimensions of modern accurate cartography, based upon known fixed points, principally churches and thoroughfares. This methodology is known as Conzenian Morphology, having been pioneered by Conzen in his study of Alnwick, and has been summarised most fully by Lilley.³²

³¹ “Ogilby and Morgan’s Large Scale Map of the City as Rebuilt by 1676” (British History Online), <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source.aspx?pubid=61>.

³² Keith D. Lilley, “Mapping the Medieval City: Plan Analysis and Urban History,” *Urban History* 27, no. 01 (2000): 5-30.

With the aid of specialists from the Museum of London Archaeology service, early nineteenth century parish maps were fitted into contemporary Ordnance Survey 1:1250 scale mapping, using roads which have remained fixed in alignment and width as markers. This stage gives more reference points between the accurate mapping and features extant prior to the twentieth century. Finally, Ogilby and Morgan's map is superimposed, and common features realigned to fit the composite scale map – thereby rendering early modern alignments of streets and churches in an accurate manner (Figure 2.4).

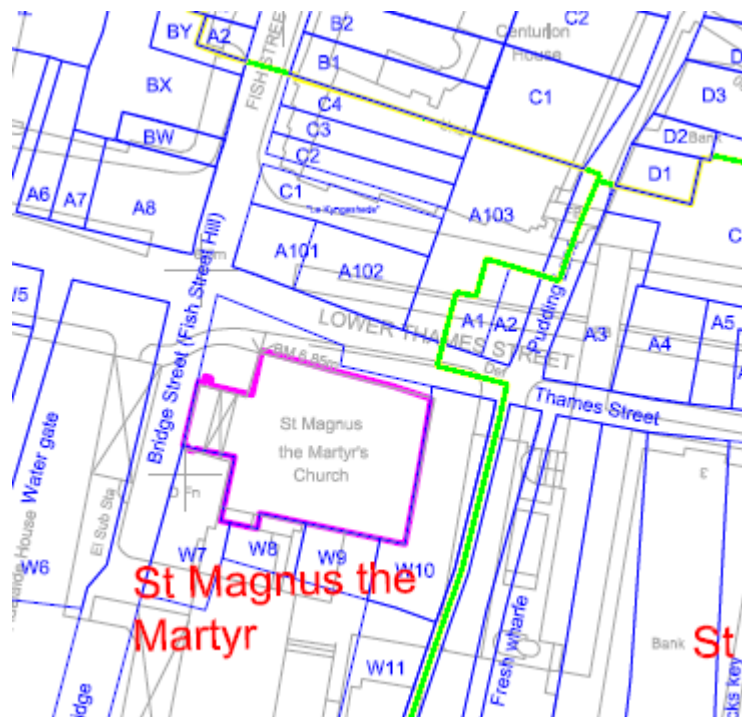


Figure 2.4 - Map Regression at St Magnus the Martyr

Limitations of Topographical Reconstruction

Reconstructing medieval street patterns is problematic as it is often only possible to arrive at a diagrammatic reconstruction of individual property boundaries rather than detailed measurements which are rare in deeds and surveys prior to the seventeenth century. Analysis from deeds also generally ignores sub-divided units which were subject to short-term lets, and appear only as descriptions such as ‘tenement with the three shops’. Occasionally leases appear amongst archives of deeds, complicating abutment descriptions when they relate to otherwise undocumented sub-lets. Where sub-units have been identified, they have been given a sub-tenement code in the format ‘SMM A1B’. Other circumstances have been accommodated by combining letters for street frontages: ‘SMH CD2’, or interrupted numbering: ‘SMM BX’ (see map in front matter).

Identification of properties can also be challenging in the later fifteenth century where abutments were given referencing former owners. Generally it is still possible to use known previous abutments to locate the property in question, and it is generally clear that the individual named was ‘*nuper*’ the

owner. This can become more problematic in circumstances where the same abutments are used repeatedly – in one noted case abutments of 1333 were used in a deed from Wells in 1814.³³ There are also some properties from which no fifteenth-century deeds survive: in some cases this is as the property had already passed into mortmain prior to the late fourteenth century, in other cases it appears that, through chance, none of its owners elected to enrol their deeds in the Husting court. Nonetheless, it is generally possible to recreate the position and even ownership of these properties through abutments. Overall, the coverage of properties is generally satisfactory, with most properties possessing at least one document, and a good number have five, ten or more deeds and other documents pertaining to them dating from this period (Figure 2.5).

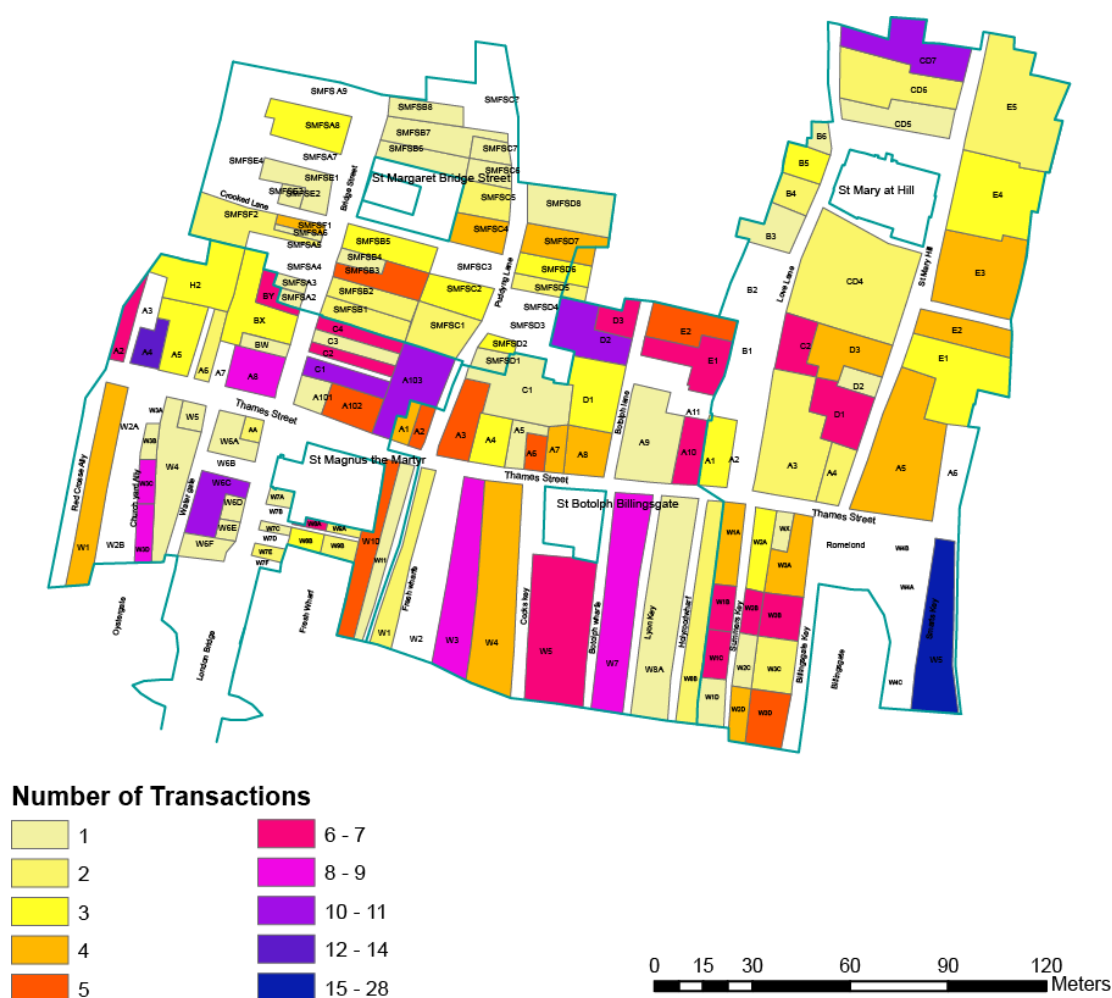


Figure 2.5 – Number of documented transactions for each tenement.

Ownership is a complicated issue, for those referred to in deeds are almost always the ‘freehold’ owners of the tenements, who may, but frequently may not, have been its occupiers. While tenants were occasionally mentioned, and extant rentals provide this information for a limited number of properties, it is often impossible to reconstruct who lived in particular properties. Where this

³³ Scrase, “Working with British Property Records: The Potential and the Problems,” 23.

information is present, or an owner specifically refers to a tenement as his abode, it is noted, yet this does not yield sufficient coverage for analysis. Nonetheless, information relating to ownership is illuminating in many respects, not only to reveal who had an interest in a given area, even if that did not necessarily involve occupation, but in the networks of individuals involved in the transaction.

Space Syntax Analysis

Public or open spaces are important in the development of community, and economy, but they were seldom measured in medieval documents. Reconstruction of their forms must rely on the accuracy of early maps, and upon inference from dimensions of neighbouring property. Public spaces represent a very different interpretative problem to private spaces: by definition there is no question of ownership or value, for their use was transient and ever changing. While use of space may be documented in terms of market activity, or disputes, this is largely anecdotal.

Modern architects and planners employ the methodology of Space Syntax to examine projected use of space in an objective manner. This revolves around the concept of analysing theoretical visibility, and efficiency of walking routes, within a map or plan. It has been used to highlight areas likely to attract crime as a result of poor visibility and inaccessibility. Creating axial projections of spaces mirrors human perceptions by simulating the 'line of sight' experience of open spaces. Calculations based upon these axial lines identify the degree of integration ('connectedness') in a map, illustrating the potential for to-movement. Similarly the degree to which a location is likely to be used as a through-route between other streets or places can be established, and is referred to as 'choice value'.³⁴

Only extremely recently have historians applied Space Syntax Analysis to pre-modern city forms. Craane's work on the medieval Dutch city of 's-Hertogenbosch addressed many of the issues surrounding application of this methodology to medieval London.³⁵ Map regression based upon eighteenth-century maps and historical property documentation has proven successful, especially as absolute accuracy in street dimensions is less significant than relative orders of magnitude. Analysis of the streets of the Bridgehead using this methodology, in Chapters 3 and 4, reveals the close correlation between topography and other, more directly historically observable social phenomena.

³⁴ Alasdair Turner, Alan Penn, and Bill Hillier, "An Algorithmic Definition of the Axial Map," *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 32, no. 3 (2005): 425-444.

³⁵ Marlous Craane, "The Medieval Urban 'Movement Economy': Using Space Syntax in the Study of Medieval Towns as Exemplified by the Town of 's-Hertogenbosch, the Netherlands," in *Proceedings: Seventh International Space Syntax Symposium*, ed. Daniel Koch, Lars Marcus, and Jesper Steen (Stockholm, 2009).

We must, of course, remember that all analysis of walking and the practical experience of the city can also serve to highlight the lack of qualitative understanding: in analysis 'the activity of passers-by is transformed into points that draw a totalising and reversible line on the map'.³⁶

³⁶ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 97.

2.2 Reconstructing Personal Histories: Prosopography

Prosopography is defined as the collective study of biographies, with the aim of discerning what may not be visible in study of the individual in isolation. Medieval prosopography has many sources, yet for townsmen wills are the most plentiful. While the gentry's lives can frequently be traced through Inquisitions Post Mortem and other copious royal records, citizens had the privilege of exemption from most such impositions. Within the City of London wills are the principal source for the lives of the great majority of individuals. The fragmentary biographical details that can be gained offer correlations of people and events, but not strictly biographies, which has led at least one historian to coin the term 'history of persons', as distinct from prosopography.³⁷

Availability of Wills

Fifteenth-century London was divided into numerous jurisdictions for the purposes of probate. As well as numerous liberties enjoying their own jurisdiction, right of probate over a Londoners' will was determined by wealth and whether or not he or she owned London burgage land, or land outside the city. Those who owned property in more than one diocese, or were very wealthy, were in the jurisdiction of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.³⁸ Those with burgage land in London have often enrolled their wills in the Court of Husting, yet this custom largely died out during the fifteenth century. Most fifteenth-century Londoners had their wills proved by a functionary of the Bishop of London. The parishes of the Bridgehead neighbourhood lay within the jurisdiction of the Archdeacon's court, with St Margaret Bridge Street being in that jurisdiction except for probate, for which it was subject to the Commissary Court.³⁹ While Registers of the Archdeacon's Court are extant for the late fourteenth, and sixteenth century, the majority of those for the fifteenth are lost. The Consistory Court, as the Bishop's highest court, could also claim probate jurisdiction, yet it seldom appears to have done so.⁴⁰ In practice the majority of extant wills generated by the parishes in this study during the fifteenth century were proved in the Commissary Court.

³⁷ Mike Burkhardt, *Der Hansische Bergenhandel im Spätmittelalter: Handel, Kaufleute, Netzwerke* (Köln Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2009), 377.

³⁸ Lesley Boatwright, Moira Habberjam, and Peter Hammond, eds., *Logge Register of PCC Wills, 1479 to 1486* (Knaphill: Richard III Society, 2008), 4.

³⁹ Richard Newcourt, *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense* (Benjamin Motte, 1710), 309, 405, 396, 449.

⁴⁰ R. M. Wunderli, *London Church Courts and Society on the Eve of the Reformation* (Cambridge (MA): Medieval Acad. America, 1981), 12.

Between 1400 and 1500, a total of 507 wills have been located for parishioners of the four parishes considered in this study. Some 285 are located in the registers of the Commissary Court, 163 in the registers of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, forty-six in the Rolls of Deeds and Wills of the Husting Court and four in the Archdeaconry Court registers. Nine further wills, not found in any registers, have been located in various cartularies, Company books and deed collections (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2 – Totals of wills discovered relating to studied parishes 1400-1500, by court.

Parishioners' Wills Proved 1400-1500						
	PCC	Commiss.	Husting	Archdeacon.	Other	Total
St Magnus the Martyr	75	118	17	3	1	214
St Botolph Billingsgate	34	41	11	0	2	88
St Mary at Hill	26	78	7	0	6	117
St Margaret Bridge Street	28	48	11	1	0	88
Total	163	285	46	4	9	507

The distribution of wills throughout the century was relatively constant (Figure 5). The average number of wills proved per year rises slightly from around four in the first decade of the century to around six in the 1470s, before declining slightly. Maximal numbers of wills were proved in 1438, 1467 and 1485, while none happened to have been proved in 1423, 1435, 1450 or 1460. 1438 was a noted year of famine, while 1467 saw some incidence of plague, perhaps contributing to these peaks.⁴¹

Several patterns emerge within this picture of stability (Figure 2.7). While all parishes exhibited similar division between the various courts, there is a general decline in use of the Court of Husting through the course of the fifteenth century, and a notable increase in the use of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. The Commissary Court (as a percentage of all probates) remained relatively constant until the closing decades of the century. Initially it appears that the declining usage of the Commissary Court is commensurate with the uptake in activity in the Prerogative Court, as their combined totals retain the stable level of activity. This is partly explained by the fact that until 1488 Acts of Administration, and similar brief entries, are recorded in the main registers of the Commissary Court, whereas from 1489 they were maintained separately and thus removed from the main sequence of records and these totals.⁴² Other reasons for the apparent transfer of business

⁴¹ John Findlay Drew Shrewsbury, *A History of Bubonic Plague in the British Isles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 149.

⁴² M. Fitch, *Index to Testamentary Records in the Commissary Court of London (London Division) Now Preserved in the Guildhall Library, London, 1: 1374-1488; 2: 1489-1570. 2 Vols*, 1969, vi.

from the Bishop's to the Archbishop's court could include growing affluence, with more testators meeting the latter's financial criteria, or simply preference perhaps related to costs or efficiency.

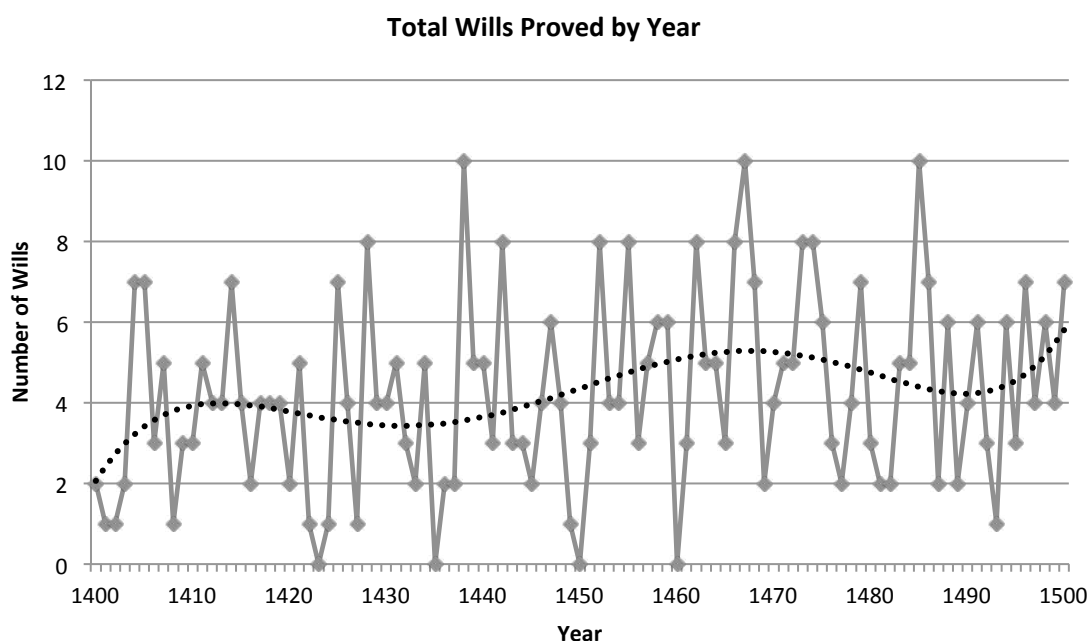


Figure 2.6 – Total numbers of wills proven by year [all sampled parishes] (n=507).

Table 2.3 - Totals of wills discovered relating to studied parishes in sampled years only, by court.

Sampled Wills (1400-1420, 1440-1460, 1480-1500)

	PCC	Commiss.	Husting	Archdeacon.	Other	Total
St Magnus the Martyr	40	74	13	3	0	130
St Botolph Billingsgate	18	18	5	0	2	43
St Mary at Hill	17	47	3	0	1	68
St Margaret Bridge Street	18	27	8	0	0	53
Total	94	166	29	3	3	294

The survival of so many fifteenth-century parishioners' wills is indicative of the prosperity of the neighbourhood, and its density of population. However, it has not proved practicable to thoroughly analyse all of these. Instead, a sample was devised to gain a representative impression from the earlier, mid, and late parts of the century: 1400-1420, 1440-1460 and 1480-1500. While still a large number, 294 wills provides a manageable sample for the purposes of this study (Table 2.3). Predictably, men made 83% of sampled testaments, while widows made all of the female testaments.

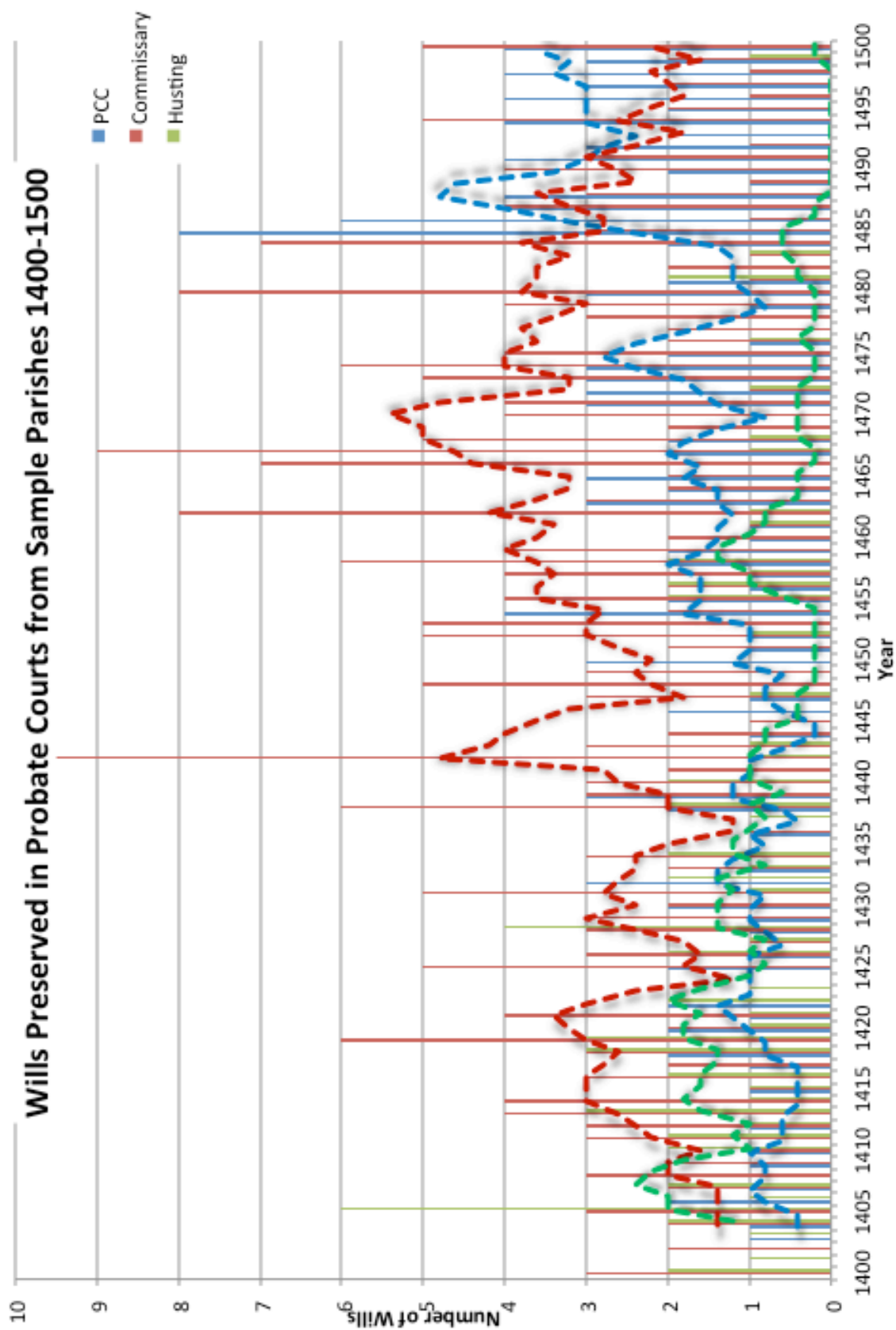


Figure 2.7 – Wills proven by court, all sample parishes 1400-1500, with five year moving average (n=498).

Prosopographical Use of Wills

The use of wills in the study of medieval lives is long established, yet not without problems. Historians have increasingly realised the limitations posed by the use of wills as indicators of a testator's life and attitudes: 'impressions derived from wills alone are a blank facade disguising an intricate reality'.⁴³ Among the problems encountered when using wills as prosopographical evidence are the limited number of individuals who made wills and testaments, their strong adherence to convention – possibly limiting scope for individual expression, and their limited intended purpose. Any will or testament was enacted to specify an individual's intentions for their lands or possessions (respectively) after their death. It was not a total record of their transmission of their lands and possessions at the end of their life. Wills frequently fail to mention children, or eldest children are granted far less than younger siblings. In such instances it is likely that provision for some heirs had already been made during the testator's lifetime, and is thus not recorded in a will or indeed any other documentation. While this may be apparent with regards to bequests to children, all too often there is simply no way of telling whether an individual had made informal bequests to other individuals, or institutions, or already instituted other arrangements.

Wills nonetheless allow examination of several questions relating to an individual's life and social milieu. While a will is not a reliable indicator of the totality of an individual's bequests and network, it can generally be considered representative of their intentions for its particular purpose: the arrangements to be enacted immediately following their death.⁴⁴ Post obit intentions recorded typically include arrangements for their burial, short-term commemorative arrangements including supplementary masses and candles, and their month's mind service. Charitable bequests are also nearly universal amongst those of sufficient means, both generally to the poor, and to institutions such as prisons and hospitals.

Personal connections and networks are notoriously difficult to reconstruct using historical evidence. Immediate family members can be ignored in wills as a result of arrangements put in place in advance. Nonetheless, wills can generally be used with some confidence when reconstructing family structures. Following custom, the testament of movable goods usually divided the estate into 'thirds': one for the wife of the testator, one for their children and another for charitable purposes. By contrast, widows and other women making wills could devise all of their chattels without

⁴³ Burgess, "Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered," 27.

⁴⁴ Caroline M. Barron, "The Will as Autobiography: The Case of Thomas Salter, Priest, Died November 1558," in *Recording Medieval Lives: Proceedings of the 2005 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Virginia Davis, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 17 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2009), 141-81.

restriction.⁴⁵ While some of these ‘thirds’ may have been dealt with prior to the composition of the will or testament, direct family members in the form of a spouse and children are mentioned very frequently. Where children or siblings and other relatives are mentioned, the relationship is usually described explicitly, enabling the reconstruction of family relationships. Some wills also mention parents, either where the testator predeceases one or both of their parents or in requesting burial beside, or prayer for, parents. Likewise, in cases where a testator has remarried, late spouses are frequently mentioned. Problems can arise when following such a methodology especially when forenames are shared amongst generations. Designations of trade or status are seldom used when describing family members, making it difficult to associate such information with other sources. Likewise maiden names of wives and daughters-in-law are seldom mentioned, just as married names of adult sisters and daughters are usually ignored unless implied by a bequest to their husband.

Identifying personal relationships and networks outside of immediate families proves more problematic. There is again good reason to suppose that a will is anything but a total record of relationships, or even of bequests. However, individuals neither directly related to a testator nor connected with their post-obit devotional or charitable arrangements occur frequently. Common candidates for mention in wills include employees and servants, former servants, apprentices and former apprentices. It is the exceptions rather than the typical bequests which are of greater interest: it is intriguing to examine others that a testator might mention in a will, to which he has no direct or obvious connection. These bequests open up the application of wills to other areas of this study, as the beneficiaries concerned often transpire to be fellow-guildsmen, neighbours or business partners, as explored in Chapter 7.

Social Network Analysis

Social Network Analysis is an ideal tool for examining relationships between individuals exposed through the types of interaction exposed in both wills and deeds. While modern Social Network Analysis is conducted with complex software such as UCInet or Pajek, the basis of the approach is simply to cross reference the existence of social relationships between all sampled individuals, in the form of an underlying matrix. The resultant links are depicted in such a manner as to minimise the lengths of lines connecting individuals, creating a visual impression of the degree of cohesion. Charts illustrating social networks typically portray both tight-knit clustering, and seemingly random linkages (Figure 2.8). Dense clustering illustrates the reciprocal relationships between individuals who share membership of, for example, a formal society, committee, or perhaps

⁴⁵ Michael M Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England from the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to the End of the Thirteenth Century* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1963), 263.

fraternity, while less dense linkages expose the ways in which these formal groups are united by informal links.

	CS	SS	AG	RM	LB	A	EL	DD	AL	BL	FW	DM	JP	TK	JT	CV	NV
CS		1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
SS	1		1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
AG	1	1			0		1				0		0	1	1	1	1
RM	1	1			0	0	1	1	1	1			0	1	1	1	1
LB	0	0	0	0		1	0	0	1	1	0	0			0	1	0
A	0	0		0	1		0	0			0				0		0
EL	1	1	1	1	0	0		1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DD	0	1		1	0	0	1		0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
AL	0	1		1	1		0	0		1	1					1	1
BL	1	1		0	1		1	0	1						1	1	1
FW	0	0			0	0	0	0	1			1		1		1	0
DM	0						0				1						
JP	0	0		0			0	0									1
TK	1	1	1	1			0	0			1		0		1		1
JT	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1				0			1
CV	1	1		1	1		0	0	1	1	1						
NV	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		1	1	1		

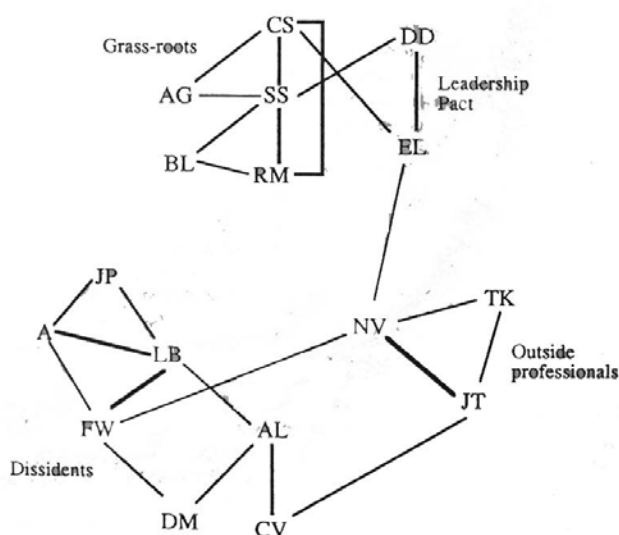


Figure 2.8 – Matrix of relationships and Social Network Diagram illustrating how the presence of social linkages between individuals can be charted to reveal wider networks. Sample data relating to a neighbourhood association in Philadelphia in the 1980s, from Davies and Herbert (1993)

Whereas, for example, Burkhardt had a self-contained and consistent source for his analysis of Hanseatic Bergenfahrer relationships in the form of the Lübeck *Niederstadtbuch*, the data gained from the evidence of London's fifteenth-century wills and deeds is, however, more problematic.⁴⁶ In this study relationships have been reconstructed from descriptions within many deeds and wills. For instance, in a will, the testator has been treated as the instigator of all of the relationships connected with the document. The executors, supervisors and witnesses of the same will have been interpreted as his nominees to those roles, and thus a directed relationship is inferred between testator, and each of these 'will facilitators'. In terms of social network analysis, this is presented as an *arc*, with the

⁴⁶ Burkhardt, *Der hansische Bergenhandel im Spätmittelalter*, 376.

testator as the *broker*, or primary link between all of those involved. Kin relationships are a type of social link distinct from that created or exposed by the nomination of an executor. Whereas the choice of an executor (for instance) is an ostensibly free choice on the part of the testator, kinship cannot be regarded as in any way a matter of choice; it is therefore not a directed relationship, and in a social network, is best presented as an *edge*, rather than an *arc*.

Relationships of bequest and receipt are often ambiguous, despite often revealing much in terms of social and familial relationships. Many family members are mentioned repeatedly in a single will, for instance as receiver of a bequest of land, another of chattels, and perhaps also as an executor. The repetition of these various individual relationships can serve to disproportionately inflate the apparent density of the relationship between kin and close associates, and thereby obscure other relationships in comparison. Despite the chance that this may indeed reflect the relative strength of kinship relationships in the fifteenth-century city, it hinders investigation of local sociability and society. For this reason bequest relationships have not been the focus of social network analysis in this study, which instead focuses upon the singular, directed, relationships of wills: those of testator and executor, supervisor and witness.

Deeds also present a useful source for social network analysis. The average fifteenth-century deed preserved in Husting is packed with names: typically numerous 'buyers' and numerous 'vendors', neighbours of the property in question (sometimes both freeholders and their tenants), witnesses, and possibly attorneys. The greatest problem is the use of feoffees without clearly or consistently making clear who the intended ultimate recipient of the property would be. It is therefore impossible to reconstruct a directed social network of buyer and his selected feoffees (or indeed vendor and his feoffees). While a directed relationship had taken place, it is most appropriate in analysis to portray those on each side of a transaction as a group connected by *edges* rather than *arcs*. The group of vendors can then be related to their 'buyers' as a directed relationship, but a very (perhaps inordinately) dense network quickly appears as each vendor has relationships with not only each fellow vendor or feoffee, but with each recipient, who also has relationships with each of the other recipients. The analysis of witnesses to these deeds must also follow a similar pattern, although it is not necessary to assume a relationship between each of the witnesses, but only with the vendors and recipients.

Networks can rapidly become very dense with high numbers of relationships between individuals obscuring patterns and relationships. Social Network Analysis avoids these problems by the reduction of networks into *partitions*. The primary form of a network partition is the collation of individuals on the basis of a feature that they share in common. In this study, parish and occupation are used as partitions in the social network data. Rather than chart relationships between thousands of individuals across numerous parishes and occupations, by gathering them into

partitions, each representing the sum of its members' relationships, it is possible to quickly gain an overview. In these analyses, rather than having hundreds of individuals, each of the four parishes, for example, represents the relationships that its parishioners created with other parishes. This is the primary way in which Social Network Analysis has been employed in this study: providing an overview of the relationships between members of groups and institutions rather than amongst individuals themselves.

Social Network Analysis also allows measurement and depiction of cohesion and centrality in social relationships. While the *density* of a network refers to a whole social network, and is necessarily inversely proportional to its size, *degree* is the measure of the 'connectedness' of each individual or *vertex*.⁴⁷ This is to say the number of its 'social neighbours'. Calculation of the degree of the individuals within a network allows the creation of another set of partitions based upon the number of relationships to which they belong. This enables the identification of the most socially prolific individuals or the 'key players' within Chapter 8.

Inconsistency within the sources used in this study is problematic for Social Network Analysis. For example, only an uncertain proportion of deeds were ever enrolled in the Court of Husting, or are otherwise preserved, thus limiting and possibly biasing the sample. Inconsistency in both wills and deeds also rests with the standard of their enrolment. All wills possessed at least one executor and some witnesses, yet a significant number of those preserved in the court rolls fail to mention either or both of these essential facts. These were commonly found at the very bottom of the will, and so are disproportionately frequently the victims of damage, and are frequently illegible. These problems are, however, integral to all study of medieval documents, and it can only be assumed that they do not impose a structural bias in the data.

Social Network Analysis is a powerful tool for analysing large volumes of historical data in a (reasonably) objective way. As Burkhardt emphasized, while use of medieval evidence imposes problems related to inconsistent and imperfect data, it also removes the common problem of emotional judgements on the part of both investigator and interviewee inherent in Social Network Analysis of modern society.⁴⁸ Furthermore it reduces the tendency of the historian to focus upon the exceptional and the most visible, and instead centres attention on the whole of the data available and thus the mundane amongst the special. It must be emphasized, however, that this is not primarily a quantitative study, but rather employs Social Network Analysis as a quantitative

⁴⁷ Wouter de Nooy, Andrej Mrvar, and Vladimir Batagelj, *Exploratory Social Network Analysis with Pajek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 63.

⁴⁸ Burkhardt, *Der hansische Bergenhandel im Spätmittelalter*, 380.

method, while retaining a qualitative focus, as part of a broad mixed-methods framework, now widely acknowledged as most appropriate in the investigation of social questions in historical time.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ H Graff, "The Shock of the "'New'(Histories)," *Social Science History* 25, no. 4 (2001): 500-511.

3 Geographies and Topographies

Cities, unlike villages and small towns, are plastic by nature. We mould them in our images: they in their turn, shape us by the resistance they offer when we try to impose our own personal form on them ... the city as we imagine it, the soft city of illusion, myth, aspiration, nightmare, is as real, maybe more real, than the hard city one can locate on maps.¹

The urban landscape of Medieval London may appear relatively familiar: many streets are unchanged in both layout and name, while most churches have endured. The cathedral church of St Paul, and London Bridge, although rebuilt, appear as connections with the city's past. Indeed, the constant flow of the Thames itself is a connection with the origins of the city. The sample of this study is deliberately selected, comprising the area surrounding the northern head of London Bridge, the focus of one of the city's primary axis of communication, and Billingsgate, one of its principal wharves and markets, and a vital nodal point. Furthermore, the position by the River Thames incorporated a swathe of hugely valuable land with direct access to wharves in water unrestricted by the bridge. This generated the high density of property transactions, and thus documentary records, to allow a coherent study.

A city, however, is not so much the sum of its streets as the sum of its people, and of the meaning that they impose upon those streets; it is a venue of 'territorial claims and social space ... in the subjective sense that townspeople regard some streets as home ground and other streets, not necessarily far away but over a certain threshold as alien'.² The city acts as one of the most significant influences in the formation of the social world of its inhabitants, in the opportunities it presents to them, and the manner in which they use it. In the same way that individuals' social networks are a unique product of their circumstances and interactions, their experiences of the city are individual, and as much imagined as real:

[the story of the city] begins on ground level, with footsteps. They are myriad but do not compose a series. They cannot be counted, because each unit has a qualitative character: a style tactile apprehension and kinaesthetic appropriation. Their swarming mass is an innumerable collection of singularities.³

What, though, provided the references by which people defined and viewed urban spaces? Along which axis did people move, and what landmarks or symbolic knowledge did they employ in order to navigate the thoroughfares of the Bridgehead? How were streets and features described, and what

¹ Raban, *Soft City*, 2.

² Burke, "Urban History and Urban Anthropology of Early Modern Europe," 73.

³ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 97.

did that imply as to their relative importance: ‘verbal cartography is not no cartography’.⁴ Furthermore, how was access to space governed and restricted: which spaces were private, semi-private, or public?

Examination of the local social world must encompass the topographical world of the area – the topographical ‘actors’ – the nodal points that brought people together, the axes which connected them, the objects of their attentions and, indeed, the venues for their interactions. This chapter addresses, in turn, the institutional geography of the neighbourhood, the axis and nodes of the river, and then of the land. Together, these features comprise the local environment in which the residents of the Bridgehead lived, and which shaped the opportunities and constraints upon their lives.

⁴ Daniel Lord Smail, “The Linguistic Cartography of Property and Power in Late Medieval Marseille,” in *Medieval Practices of Space*, ed. Barbara Hanawalt and Michal Kobińska (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 38.

3.1 Institutional Geography

The City of London was, and indeed still is, divided into separate secular and religious administrative units. These are the wards of civil government, of which there were twenty-five (after the division of Farringdon in 1394), and the parishes, of which there were over a hundred. Their boundaries were not contiguous and, furthermore, the distribution and density of both parishes and wards varied dramatically throughout the city: some small wards contained many parishes, while some of the largest contained only a few. Consequently jurisdictions frequently failed to correlate: while some parish boundaries followed ward boundaries (or vice versa), in others they bisect them: St Margaret Bridge Street for instance, was divided equally between two wards (Figure 3.1).

London's wards have been described as an 'integral and essential element in city government'. Instituted around 1290, they were well established by the mid fourteenth century.⁵ The core function of the ward was the wardmote, or meeting of all residents, which was responsible for the election of local officers such as beadles, constables and scavengers, as well as the alderman. Not only were all householders required to attend the wardmote, but during the fifteenth century even hired servants and non-freemen were explicitly mandated to appear. In this sense the ward could be argued to have been the most genuinely inclusive administrative body in the city, yet they appear to have lacked any strong sense of identity.⁶

Aldermen assumed responsibility for the administration of the other officers, and for the maintenance of law and order within the ward. From 1395 aldermen were elected for life (although they could be translated between wards). While aldermen were almost always members of the leading companies, initially they tended to represent the dominant trades of their ward, but this appears to have been somewhat diluted in favour of political selection in the fifteenth century. The wards studied here, Bridge and Billingsgate, were dominated by Fishmongers during the fourteenth century but, during the fifteenth, often returned representatives of the textile trades, even though these trades were uncommon in the area (Table 3.1).

⁵ Caroline M. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People 1200-1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 122.

⁶ Caroline M. Barron, "Lay Solidarities: The Wards of Medieval London," in *Law, Laity and Solidarities: Essays in Honour of Susan Reynolds*, ed. Pauline Stafford, Jane Martindale, and Janet L. Nelson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 223, 232.

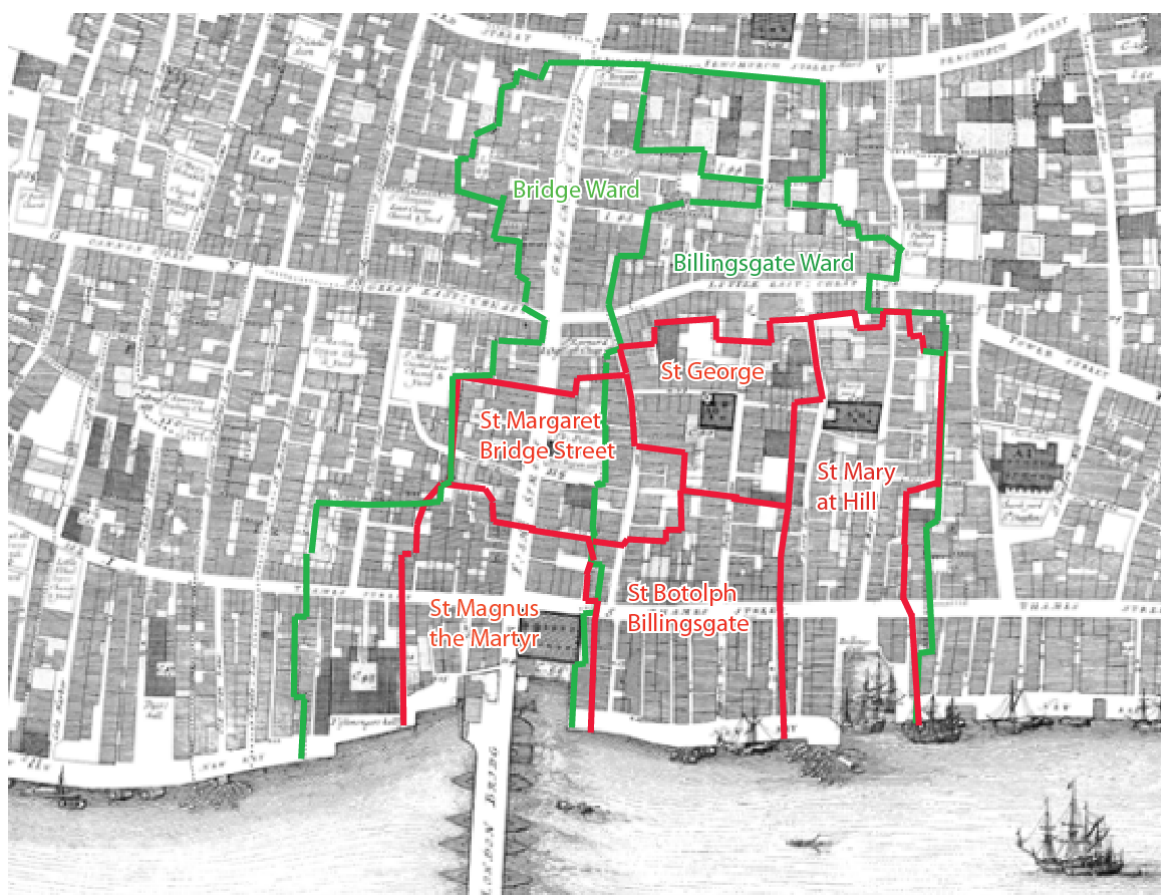


Figure 3.1– Selected wards (green) and parishes (red) plotted onto Ogilby and Morgan’s map.

Table 3.1– Aldermen of Billingsgate and Bridge wards [from Beaven, *Aldermen of the City of London*]

Aldermen of Billingsgate Ward			Aldermen of Bridge Ward		
1385	Sir Nicholas Exton	Sheriff	1390	William Brampton	Fishmonger
1392	Gilbert Maghfeld	Ironmonger	1407	William Askham	Fishmonger
1397	William Reynwell	Mercer	1414	Nicholas Ashton	[?]
1403	William Crowmere	Draper	1415	John Michell	Fishmonger
1420	William Cauntbrigge	Grocer	1444	Robert Horn	Brewer
1432	John Reynwell	Fishmonger	1456	John Felde	Stockfishmonger
1445	Stephen Broun	Grocer	1463	John Lok	Mercer
1460	Richard Flemyng	Ironmonger	1463	John Tate	Mercer
1464	John Yonge	Grocer	1465	John Plomer	Grocer
1481	John Stokker	Draper	1468	Stephen Fabyan	Draper
1485	William Remyngton	Fishmonger	1468	Thomas Stalbrook	Draper
1511	Robert Aldernes	Haberdasher	1483	John Mathewe	Mercer
			1490	Sir John Fenkyll	Draper
			1499	Sir Richard Haddon	Mercer
			1516	Ralph Symonds	Fishmonger

Wards also elected the jury responsible for the annual Plough Monday presentments, which dictated that the alderman called a wardmote at least annually. Initially, this jury was composed of the *probi homines*, who went on to become the Common Councilmen in the fourteenth century, and those elected during the fifteenth century were still substantial householders of the ward. Records only survive from the years 1373, 1422 and 1423, yet these shed light upon the practical operation of local administration. Questions prescribed by city custom were answered, providing indictments regarding derelict and dangerous properties, non-citizens trading as citizens and breaches of the assize of ale. While juries were elected by ward, examination of the 1422 presentments of Billingsgate ward show that in practice, investigations appear to have been conducted on a parish basis in this ward at least. The 1422 presentments were arranged in subheadings by parish, yet in 1423 the same groups of issues appear together, albeit without the explicit division by parish.⁷

The origins of London's parishes are obscure, but all were in existence by the time that Fitz Stephen described the city in the 1170s.⁸ The ritual of 'beating the bounds', mentioned in the accounts of St Mary at Hill, served both to bring together the parish community, and to perpetuate knowledge of its boundaries.⁹ Significantly there is no evidence of the formal planning of parishes – it seems most likely that all were organic creations based upon the chapels of magnates, or the collective action of local people.¹⁰ The social significance of the parish, with its church building available as a communal space, was far greater than that of the ward, as explored in depth in later chapters.

⁷ Thomas and Jones, *CalPMR*, 1413-37, pp. 128, 155.

⁸ John Schofield, "Saxon and Medieval Parish Churches in the City of London: A Review," *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 45 (1996): 41.

⁹ Henry Littlehales, *The Medieval Records of a London City Church: St Mary at Hill, 1420-1559* (London: Early English Text Society, 1904), 131; Steve Hindle, "Beating the Bounds of the Parish: Order, Memory, and Identity in the English Local Community, c.1500–1700," in *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Michael Halvorson and Karen Spierling, St Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 216.

¹⁰ Christopher N. L. Brooke, *Churches and Churchmen in Medieval Europe* (Continuum, 1999), 85.

3.2 'Topographical Actors': Water

Axis: The River Thames

The most important axis of London has always been the River Thames. It necessitates London Bridge, and before it the fording point which attracted the Romans, and thus ultimately the city which grew up on its northern shore. The river also explains why the city grew into a major mercantile centre: the Thames remained navigable for large ships until this point, and for smaller ones for many miles beyond, by default creating the ideal location for a port.

In the year from the beginning of the World 4032 and before our Lord's Incarnation 1200 the city that is now called London founded in imitation of Great Troy was constructed and built by King Brut the first monarch of Britain being at first called New Troy and afterwards Trinovant of which foundation building and construction the river Thames was the cause.¹¹

Even before the reconstruction of the bridge, in the earliest phases of Saxon habitation, a neighbouring site was chosen for a trading place at present day Covent Garden: *Ludenwic*. As Stow commented, such was the ideal nature of the area that 'if it were removed more to the west it should lose the benefit of the ebbing and flowing, and if it were seated more towards the east, it should be nearer to the danger of the enemy'.¹² This location on a tidal river meant that London's role as principal port of the realm was unassailable throughout the pre-modern period. It allowed both ease of access, and protection, combined with waterborne access to a hinterland comprising the domestic markets of the upper Thames valley and the east coast of England, and over-land cartage.

The removal of the Roman river wall before the twelfth century, opened up the river as an actor in the topography of the riverside area of London. Until this point the wall, maintained to repel attacks such as those suffered at the hands of the Vikings in the late tenth century, had provided access to the river only at defined water gates: primarily Dowgate and Billingsgate. The collapse (or removal) of the wall allowed what Milne called the 'privatisation' of the foreshore.¹³ Owners of tenements south of Thames Street were able to establish wharves directly on the riverbank. This negated the need to engage in the archaic practice of beaching ships in order to unload them onto the foreshore. Direct access to warehousing facilities in the tenements themselves therefore became possible: a move possibly demanded by the increase in capacity, and thus draught, of ships between

¹¹ John Carpenter, *Liber Albus*, trans. H. T. Riley, 1861, 427.

¹² John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. C.L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1908), 199.

¹³ Gustav Milne, *The Port of Medieval London* (Stroud: Tempus, 2003), 68.

the tenth and thirteenth century, from a mere twenty to a hundred tons.¹⁴ This encouraged wharves and jetties to extend further into the river, thereby modifying its hydrology – creating a deeper and faster flowing channel through the process of scouring. This fundamentally modified the structure of markets. The need was created for mercantile ‘middle-men’ to absorb and soften the peaks and troughs of the market created by ever-larger cargoes being delivered into the city, and increased the specialisation of trade.

Individual tenement owners undertook reclamation of the land south of Thames Street on a private basis, yet an overall parity in depth of wharves was maintained.¹⁵ Commercial pressures acted on neighbouring landowners in similar ways: if a neighbour had been able to increase the volume of goods landed at his wharf by extending it, it would likely inspire those neighbouring his property to do likewise. The regime of the river, however, dictated that a distinct disadvantage would fall upon those not extending their wharves in pace with their neighbours. A petition by the Armourers Company in 1481, presumably complying with the tightened control of the river contained in *Liber Albus* of 1419 that ‘no perpresture may be made by the erection of quays, or in any other manner, upon the water of Thames’, illustrates the problems:¹⁶

petition presented to the Common Council by Richard Ferne, John Bride and Richard Michell, the Master and Wardens of the Mistery of Armurers, praying that they may be allowed to enlarge their wharf in the parish of St. Peter near Paul's Wharf by the space of 10 feet, so that it might be made even towards the Thames with the other wharves next adjoining, inasmuch as at every ebb of the river the soil was covered with entrails of beasts and other filth, to the great annoyance of the petitioners and of those using a common stair adjoining the said wharf.¹⁷

Inlets created by neighbouring wharves extended on either side naturally functioned as a ‘trap’, arresting the flow of water and encouraging the ‘load’ of the river to be deposited – around Pudding Lane this load was less than savoury. Therefore the onus was on riverside landowners to extend their properties and keep pace with each other (Figure 3.2). Parts of the parishes of St Magnus the Martyr and St Botolph Billingsgate have been excavated, illuminating this.¹⁸ Wharves extended

¹⁴ Ibid., 70.

¹⁵ Ibid., 18.

¹⁶ Carpenter, *Liber Albus*, 409.

¹⁷ CLB L, f.163.

¹⁸ Relevant excavations include New Fresh Wharf (1974-5, sites NRW74, SM75 and FRE78) which spanned the area between the area between the churches of St Magnus the Martyr and St Botolph Billingsgate, and Thames Street and the river, and further work at Billingsgate lorry park (1982-3, site BIG82), abutting the former site, including the site of the church of St Botolph and spanning the boundary into the parish of St Mary at Hill. Further neighbouring excavations also took place on the landward side of Thames Street at Fish

around 20m beyond the line of the Roman river-wall at New Fresh Wharf, and 15m at Billingsgate Lorry Park by the late twelfth century (further west still at Swan Lane in the parish of All Hallows the less, this reclamation amounted to 40m).¹⁹

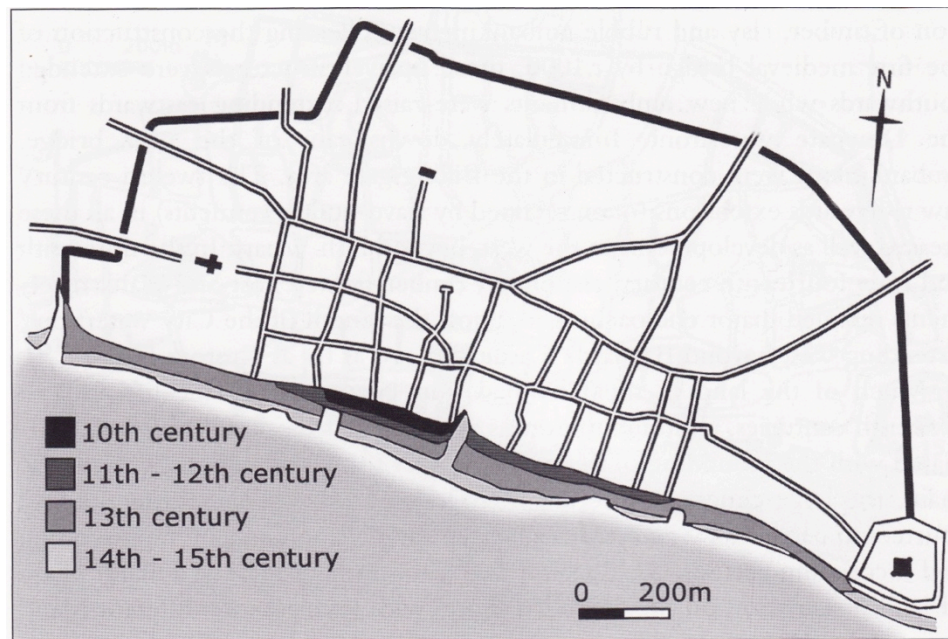


Figure 3.2 – Chronological extent of reclamation on the London Riverfront. [Milne, *The Port of Medieval London*, p.19]

The river was thus the not only the cause of the construction of the city, but it drove the property market in the riverside area. Once direct access to the river, and construction upon the foreshore, was possible, ownership of this land became a distinct commercial advantage for any merchant. The lack of regulation of riverfront maintenance and resultant freedom allowed capital investment to beget further advantage.

Nodes: Wharves, Watergates and Stairs

Direct access to the river was essential for many individuals and businesses. Access was possible via a variety of means: public and private, vehicular and pedestrian. These included public wharves and stairs, some of which descended from ancient watergates, such as Botolph's Gate, Redersgate and Oyster Gate, and most importantly Billingsgate. More numerous were private quays, attached to

Street Hill (1985, FM085), Pudding Lane (1981, PDN81) and Peninsular House\Botolph Lane (1979-80, PEN79). See: Valerie Horsman, Christine Milne, and Gustav Milne, *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London, 1: Building and Street Development Near Billingsgate and Cheapside*, Special Paper 11 (London & Middlesex Archaeological Society, 1988), 8.

¹⁹ Ken Steedman, Tony Dyson, and John Schofield, *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London, 3: The Bridgehead and Billingsgate to 1200*, Special Paper 14 (London & Middlesex Archaeological Society, 1992), 100.

every tenement adjoining the river. By the fifteenth century the term ‘key’ [quay], derived from the old French *cai*, was used in almost all names applied to private quays. Latin usage, however, tended to use *wharvus* until the sixteenth century, reflecting the older English term ‘wharf’.²⁰ Places that retained a name consistently from earlier periods reflect the dominant phraseology of that time. Botolph’s Wharf, for example, remained a ‘wharf’ rather than a ‘key’ throughout the medieval period. Meanwhile Queenhithe (outside of the present study area) retained its epithet derived from the Saxon *hyþ*. These chronological layers of nomenclature reflect not only the long history of these places, but also the stability of names for public, but not private, spaces.

Private Wharves

All tenements that abutted the river were referred to as ‘tenement with wharf’. In some cases these wharves do not appear to have had an identity separate from that of the tenement to which they belonged, but in many cases they appear to have gained a ‘name’. Often this was a personal name relating to its owner, and thus changed accordingly: in 1456 the wharf attached to tenement SBB W2A was referred to as Childeskey after its late owner, Fishmonger William Childe, but it was noted that it was ‘anciently called Burgateskey’ and more recently called Blasseskey. A quitclaim from William’s son, Thomas, confirmed ownership on his mother Joan, and her new husband, John Payne. When John and Joan came to sell the property nine years later, it was duly noted as being known as ‘lately Childeskey now Payneskey’.²¹ It is not at all clear why some names ‘stuck’ and continued to be used when others changed frequently, while in many cases later deeds neglect to mention a name at all. Property SBB W4, for example, is only referred to as Hammondskey once, thereafter simply as a ‘tenement with wharf’. The most common forms for all wharves are summarised with their relative positions in Table 3.2.

Some wharves maintained a distinct identity independently of their owners. Lyon Key, next to Botolph Wharf (SBB W7) was described as a tenement named ‘le Lyon on the Hope’ in a deed of 1397, and still in 1483 as ‘Lyon Key’.²² Fresh Wharf (SBB W1) maintained its identity, and as ‘New Fresh Wharf’ it still existed in the twentieth-century. While this name refers to fresh fish, the stability of its name derives from its ownership by Holy Trinity Priory from the twelfth century. The first prior (1107-47) leased it as a tenement with ‘two wharves’, reflecting the size of this

²⁰ e.g. indenture of 1452 in GL MS 14318 f.5v.

²¹ HR 187(48), 195(24)

²² HR 126(62), TNA E40/9806

tenement as a ‘double width’ property in terms of the standard Saxon street pattern.²³ Thereafter the wharf and its associated tenement were leased for fixed terms, generally around thirty years. These leases could be transferred and sold, yet ownership, and thus identity remained constant.²⁴ Institutional ownership was therefore a fair guarantee of consistency in the name of a place.

That a quay had a consistent name implies that it was well enough known within the city to be referred to independently of its owner and his business. Wharf owners made the most of their investments by allowing access to all those willing to pay. Conditions in deeds allowing tenants of sub-units of riverside tenements free access to the wharves were therefore important. Tenants’ access might not have been unique, but simply provided as a free benefit of use of that property, for which they would otherwise pay. Such was the prevalence of public access to ‘private’ wharves that Cocks Quay, for example, went on to become one of the legal ‘custom quays’ of the Tudor period.²⁵

Table 3.2 – Schematic summary of riverside features and wharves [compiled from evidence in deeds].

RIVER THAMES	Tenements, Wharves and Lanes	Reference	Parish
	Tenement with wharf	SMM W1	
	Cemetery of St Magnus	SMM W2	
	Churchhawlane \ Stephenslane		
	Tenement with wharf	SMM W3D	
	Tenement with wharf	SMM W4	
	Oystergate		
	Tenement abutting Bridge and Common Latrine	SMM W6F	St Magnus
	London Bridge		
	Tenements with shops	SMM W7	
	Tenement and wharf – Fish Wharf	SMM W8	
	Fish Wharf Cemetery of St Magnus	SMM W9	
	Tenement with wharf – Cock on the Hoop	SMM W10	
	Tenement with wharf	SMM W11	
	Rethersgate		
	Tenement with wharf – Fresh Wharf (Holy Trinity Priory)	SBB W1	
	Tenement with wharf – Childeskey\Payneskey	SBB W2A	
	Tenement with wharf	SBB W3	
	Tenement with wharf – Hammondskey	SBB W4	St Botolph
	Botolph’s Wharf – common quay	SBB W5A	
	Botolph’s Lane		
	Tenement with wharf – Lyonkey	SBB W7	

²³ TNA E340/7361; G.A.J. Hodgett, ed., *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity, Aldgate* (London: London Record Society, 1971), 49.

²⁴ HR 154(75)

²⁵ Brian Dietz, *The Port and Trade of Elizabethan London: Documents* (London: London Record Society, 1972), 166.

	Tenement with wharf	SBB W8A	
	Tenement with wharf	SBB W8B	
	Tenement with wharf	SMH W1	
	Holy Rood Alley		
	Tenement with wharf– Tryereswharf	SMH W2	
	Tenement with wharf	SMH W3	St Mary at Hill
	Billingsgate Wharf – common quay		
	Billingsgate	Romelond	
	Tenement with wharf	SMH W4C	
	Tenement with wharf – Culverkey\Marowekey	SMH W5	

The scale of investment in the creation of wharves and jetties attests the value of such a structure for trade on the London waterfront, yet wharves could deal with only relatively small vessels. The majority of expenditure was directed toward improving the quality and integrity of existing wharves, with the replacement of wooden surfaces, often consisting of little more than random timbers packed with clay, with cobbles. In the fourteenth century Childeskey (SBB W2A) had revetments extending up to only 0.75m above mean tide, and a slope allowing small vessels to be dragged up onto the wharf when not in use. Revetments were all of cheap front-braced construction, preventing larger vessels even approaching the wharf at high tide.²⁶ Fourteenth century cogs, for example, had a draught of over 2m, so mooring such a sea-going ship at a private wharf was impractical. Instead these wharves were intended for use with small lighters and barges, which had exceedingly shallow draughts. Indeed, Common Council decreed in 1462:

that no one should receive on his wharf the cargo of any ship unless discharged by batels and "lighters" of freemen of the City, or of others resident in the same and in lot and scot, under penalty of 20s.²⁷

Goods were thus shuttled to and fro between wharves and larger vessels moored in the deeper sections of the river, and indeed between the wharves of various merchants as goods were traded amongst London dealers, as well as being dispatched upstream to domestic markets. Ownership of a tenement with a wharf was thus a great advantage, but not a means of self-sufficiency in trade. Use of the common quays such as Billingsgate, suited to larger vessels, and of lighter-men to access vessels moored further out, was still necessary. Nonetheless, a wharf was a hive of activity, and indeed a semi-public location used by many more merchants and their servants than simply the owners.

²⁶ Steedman, Dyson, and Schofield, *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London*, 3, 108-9, 137.

²⁷ CLB L, p.21.

Watergates and Stairs

Wharves, both public and private, enabled the loading of goods, but pedestrians also required access to the riverfront. These included water-carriers and washerwomen, as well as individuals using ferries and private small boats, and importantly for all traffic in the city, those watering horses. For these purposes public entrances to the river always existed – principally at the end of the public lanes – Chirchawlane Lane, Rethersgate, and St Botolph Lane. The very earliest watergates were simply openings in the Roman river wall, perhaps created by erosion, but incorporated into the late-Saxon street-grid. Their form was constrained by private developments to either side, and they soon resembled inlets in the foreshore. During the late twelfth century Rethersgatelane and Botolph's Lane sloped down to water level around 5m further inland than the neighbouring properties.²⁸ However, by the later thirteenth century, these inlets were filled in, perhaps because of problems such as those described by the Armourers, and Botolph's lane was terminated with a revetment, and the lane metalled.²⁹ Rethersgate has revealed evidence of a river stair within the inlet, in the form of a timber 1.84m long with staircase-like joint-holes.³⁰

Beyond London Bridge, another common watergate lay at the end of Stephen's Lane (Churchawlane after the construction of St Magnus' churchyard). In 1343-44, an inquiry by the Mayor and Aldermen had found that while this was a 'common lane for all men' and at its foot was a 'certain jetty, common to all men', Adam Lucas, owner of a neighbouring tenement, had blocked the foot of this jetty. This meant that 'men of this city could not come to the water of the Thames' but were instead diverted onto the jetty leading from his own wharf, and had to pay him for the privilege. To add insult to injury, another neighbour had constructed his privies in such a way that they emptied over this lane.³¹ Access to the water was therefore often far from easy, while the city attempted to defend as it a right, it appears to have been charged for it as a matter of course.

Oystergate and Botolph's Wharf

Public wharves had an ambiguous status. They simultaneously belonged to the commonality, and yet were private space, under the control and subject to the charges of 'wharfage', of an individual. Nonetheless, they acted as a nexus for all those trading in specific goods, or travelling by river ferries. Of the three 'public' wharves within the area, two were farmed to private citizens.

²⁸ Steedman, Dyson, and Schofield, *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London*, 3, 60.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 70.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 42.

³¹ *Liber Custumarum*, p.447.

Oystergate, to the west of the bridge, was both a common lane a common quay, albeit only suitable for rowing boats.³² In a survey of 1343, the quay was farmed to ‘custodians’ William Rothing and William Mordon, who, in return for 13s 4d, were collecting all the customs due there from sellers of rushes, but apparently did very little in terms of maintenance in return.³³

Botolph’s wharf was farmed – often independently of the stone house on Thames Street to which it was attached – for terms of ten years.³⁴ In 1453 the rent on this tenement, including the wharf, house, and a crane, amounted to £36 13s 4d.³⁵ In addition the ‘custodians’ of the wharf were expected to provide a fixed level of service, including making the quay available both ‘by day and by night’. In 1343 Richard de Eure and John Sparlyng were failing to do this and, more significantly, they also blocked access to the quay to those carrying goods. The public were instead forced to use the neighbouring private quay of John Sparlynge, ‘great customs’ were charged.³⁶ In practice it would have been very difficult for a medieval Londoner to distinguish between a private and a public wharf.

The higher status of Botolph’s Wharf, compared to Oystergate, explained the more stringent conditions, and the higher rent, imposed upon its farmers. With a width of at least 20m, featuring a crane, and with back-braced revetments, allowing larger, vessels to dock directly, it was a major port facility.³⁷ It was subject to a number of ordinances forcing people to use it in several circumstances:

That all boats bringing folk to Gravesende shall load and unload at St. Botolph quay and not elsewhere, paying the same as at other "warfs."

That all boats coming from the East, and bringing corn in small "sakes" of a bushel, two bushels, and three bushels to sell in the City, shall discharge at the said quay and not elsewhere, inasmuch as all manner of corn was being sold in houses and cellars and not in full market, to the great damage of the common people.

...

That all those who bring lambs to the City for sale from the East by boat shall discharge at the said quay and not elsewhere if they do not wish to pass the bridge.

³² Carpenter, *Liber Albus*, 206.

³³ *Liber Custumarum*, p.448.

³⁴ HR 172(1)

³⁵ GL MS 8063, ff.111, 253.

³⁶ *Liber Custumarum*, p.447.

³⁷ Steedman, Dyson, and Schofield, *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London*, 3, 137.

That all boats bringing small victual to the City for sale from the East discharge themselves at the said wharf and not elsewhere, except victuals of great lords and folk of the City for service at their hostels...³⁸

Billingsgate

Billingsgate was one of the main docks of the medieval city, ranking alongside Queenhythe and Dowgate. Formed of a large inlet, leading almost all the way back to the line of the original river-wall, it remained capable of accommodating seagoing vessels. Excavation and illustrations suggest that the inlet was walled on three sides, and that an arcade was constructed on the west to protect delicate goods.³⁹ This structure was probably built when the lower two thirds of the tenement directly adjoining the wharf to the west was sold for £1000 by the feoffees of Thomas Haseley to the City, and finally conveyed via the will of Stephen Broun dated 1460.⁴⁰ The quay also provided steps, presumably to reach smaller vessels, as described in the ward presentments of 1421, when they were reported as being ‘faulty and perilous’.⁴¹

Charges set out in *Liber Albus* give an indication of the trade conducted:

Every great vessel that grounds, shall pay two pence for strandage.
For a small vessel with oarlocks that grounds, one penny.
For a boat that grounds, halfpenny.
For two quarters of corn, measured by the King’s quarter, one farthing.
For one coomb of corn that comes by water, one penny.
For every quarter of woad going out of the City by water, one halfpenny.
For two quarters of sea-coal, measured by the King’s quarter, one farthing.
...
For every hundredweight of iron imported and exported beyond the sea by a stranger, one farthing.
For every two quarters of onions imported by a stranger, one farthing.
For every hundred bunches of garlic, one halfpenny⁴²

This list also includes industrial products, various types of grain, vegetables, stockfish and pottery. Administration was directly handled by the city, with customs collected by a bailiff rather than being farmed. Loading was evidently the same as on a conventional private wharf, as illustrated by the charges for ships grounding, referred to as ‘standage’. The difference was one of scale, and of

³⁸ CLB G, 225.

³⁹ Hugh Alley, *Hugh Alley’s Caveat: The Markets of London in 1598: Folger MS V.a.318*, ed. Ian W. Archer, Caroline M. Barron, and Vanessa Harding (London: London Topographical Society, 1988), 53.

⁴⁰ Caroline M. Barron, “The Government of London and Its Relations with the Crown 1400-1450” (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, 1970), 226.. HR 210(10).

⁴¹ CPMR, 1413-37, p.128.

⁴² Carpenter, *Liber Albus*, 209.

course the fact that goods could be landed here directly for the payment of the customs charges. Nonetheless, it appears that the collection of at least some customs charges were farmed by the baliff, for the jury in the 1423 ward presentments reported that: 'John Nelham farms a false custom, i.e. 1/2 d for a case of herrings, and he takes quarterage of the wines, oysters, mussels and all manner of fish belonging to freemen'. Other abuses were also taking place – 'Robert Gerveys occupies the common ground of the romelonde, taking unlawful customs of victuals and ships of both foreigners and freemen'.⁴³

Liber Albus compiled in 1419, shows that the terminal for Gravesend ferries had moved from Botolph's Wharf to Billingsgate, as confirmed in the poem *London Lickpenny*.⁴⁴

Then I hyed me to Byllingesgate,
And cried "Wagge, wagge yow hens!"
I praye a barge man, for Gods sake,
That they would spare me myn expens.
He sayde, "Ryse up, man, and get the hens.
What wenist thou I will do on the my almes-dede?
Here skapethe no man, by-nethe ij. pens!"
For lacke of money I myght not spede.⁴⁵

This passage illuminates the atmosphere of the wharf, which the editor of the poem notes as being 'notorious for its bustle, noise, and abusive language'.⁴⁶ Billingsgate was clearly a real nexus, not just of the neighbourhood, nor or even of the city, but indeed of the whole region. In bringing people together it was a powerful 'actor'.

⁴³ CPMR 1413-1437, p.155.

⁴⁴ Carpenter, *Liber Albus*, 209.

⁴⁵ "London Lickpenny," in *Medieval English Political Writings* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Western Michigan University for TEAMS, 1996), lines 113-120.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, note 113.

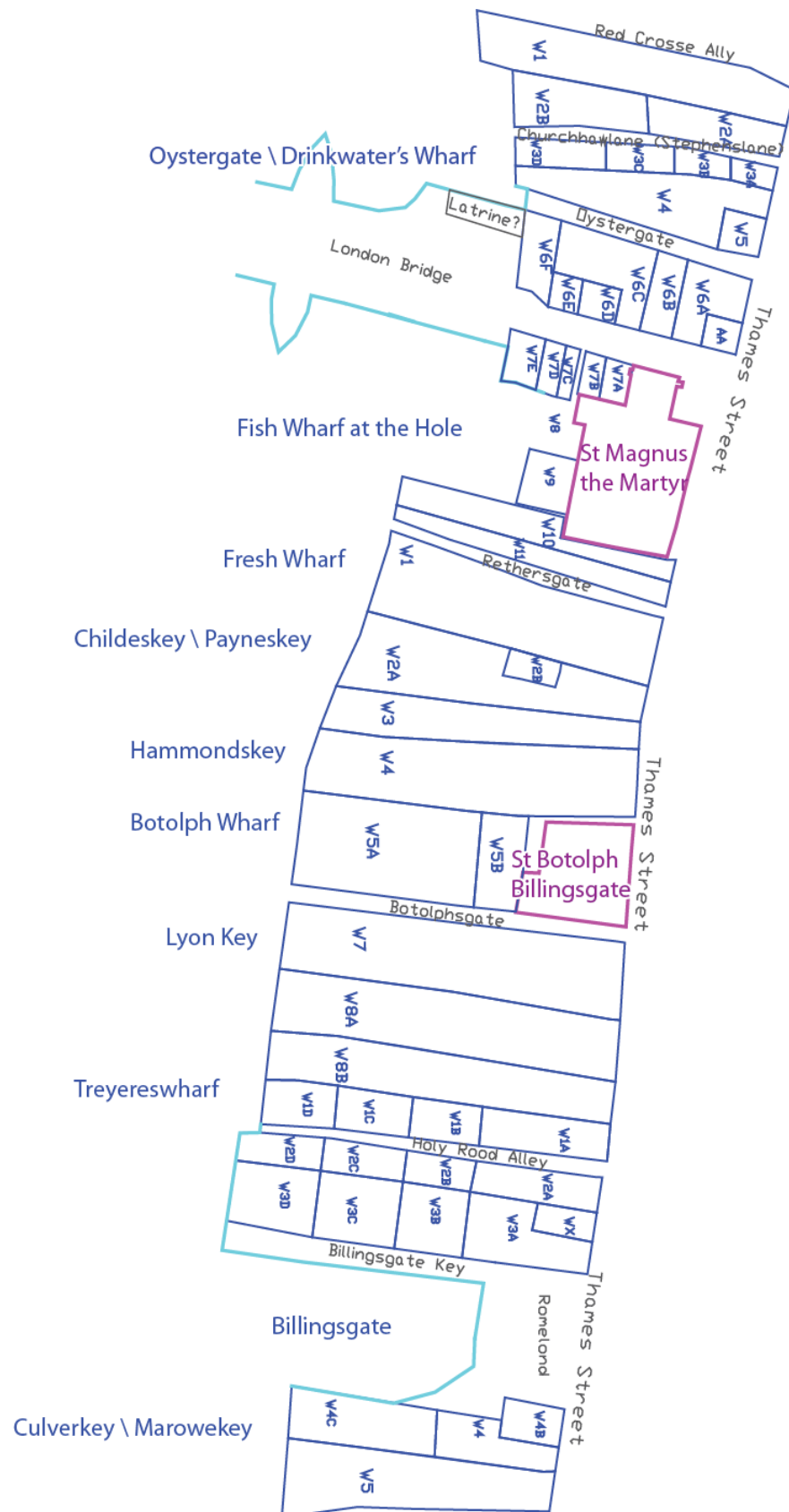


Figure 3.3 – Cartographic representation of Thames-side features [compiled from evidence in deeds].

3.3 Topographical Actors: Land

Axis: London Bridge

The bridge is undoubtedly a main element of the street ... and, in the very heart of the city, should be accessible to everybody.⁴⁷

London Bridge was simultaneously an axis of communication, linking London and Middlesex on the north bank of the Thames with Southwark and Surrey to the south, and a nodal point for traffic converging from north and south. Furthermore the bridge functioned as a major economic actor, and offered a grand symbolic entrance to the city, often used as a venue for the ceremonial processions welcoming monarchs.⁴⁸ In short it:

... demonstrated the wealth, power, and collective identity of the citizens of London. At the same time it was a unique demonstration of London's complex role as the capital of the kingdom of England: no other structure – certainly not the Tower, nor Westminster Hall, nor the Guildhall – expressed in so comprehensive a fashion the concatenation of economic, social, and political forces involved.⁴⁹

The bridge spanned the Thames from Southwark to the parish of St Magnus the Martyr on Thames Street, over nineteen piers and 276 meters. Peter Colechurch first built the stone bridge between 1176 and 1209. Contrary to Stow's description of the stone bridge having been constructed 'neare unto the bridge of timber, but somewhat more towards the west, for I read that Buttolfe wharfe was in the conquerors time, at the head of London Bridge' (a theory supported by Honeybourne in the 1960s), excavation has shown caissons and abutments of the eleventh century wooden bridge on the same alignment as the stone bridge.⁵⁰ The construction time of the stone bridge, a full 33 years, meant that a pier was constructed on average once every 21 months. It seems that this slow progress reflects the pressures of rebuilding a busy bridge that could not be closed to traffic: each pier was built individually, replacing their wooden predecessors one by one.

Stow's description suggests that the surface provided a deck around 9m wide, reduced to 3.66m by the buildings upon the bridge. A survey of 1799 documented that the spans between piers varied

⁴⁷ Leon Battista Alberti, *Ten Books on Architecture* (London: Tiranti, 1955), 76.

⁴⁸ Sydney Anglo, "The London Pageants for the Reception of Katharine of Aragon: November 1501," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 26, no. 1/2 (1963): 56.

⁴⁹ Derek Keene, "London Bridge and the Identity of the Medieval City," *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, no. 51 (2000): 154.

⁵⁰ Stow, *A Survey of London*, 23; Bruce Watson, Trevor Brigham, and Tony Dyson, *London Bridge: 2000 Years of a River Crossing* (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2001), 78.

between 4.6m and 10.5m, while the piers themselves varied between 4.6m and 10.6m in width.⁵¹ The appearance of the bridge in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which so greatly influences our modern perception of the bridge, was the product of many stages of rebuilding, especially that following the partial collapse of 1437, that it can have had little resemblance to the original plan for the bridge, which was almost certainly symmetrical.

The most famous features of the bridge were its buildings, including the chapel of St Thomas, and numerous shops and houses. Most medieval English and French bridges were adorned in this way. Initially buildings were allowed in order to create an additional revenue stream to fund the maintenance of the bridge, and by 1404 the rental of the Bridge House estate records sixty-seven properties on the east side of the bridge, and sixty-nine on the west, each yielding between 10s and 40s per annum.⁵² This range illustrates the esoteric selection of structures on the bridge. Amongst the properties listed is the ‘stone gate’ – apparently let for nothing (against a nominal value of 20s) in 1406 – located toward the southern bank, but was superseded by the ‘great stone gateway’, replete with drawbridge, that was constructed in the mid-fifteenth-century. This structure marked the boundary between the City and Southwark, and between the parishes of St Magnus and St Olave, and thus also represents the terminus of this study.

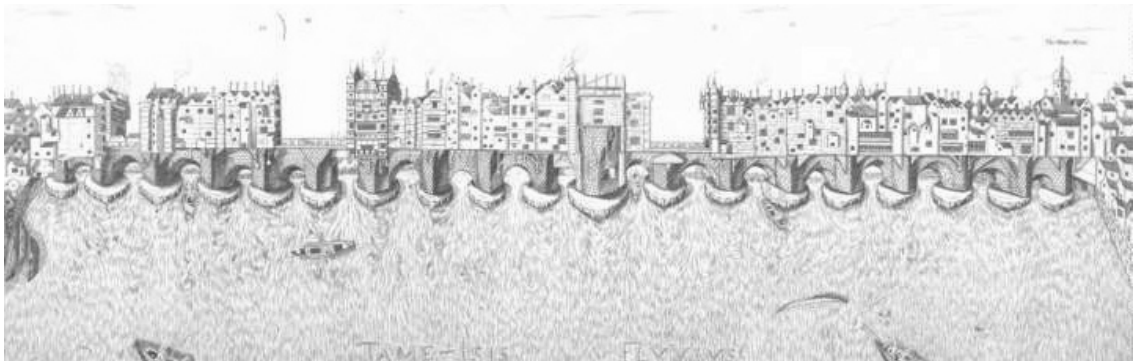


Figure 3.4 – London Bridge from the east, engraving (c.1820) after Norden (1624) from City of London Collage [<http://collage.cityoflondon.gov.uk/collage/app?service=external/Item&sp=Z3859&sp=3552&sp=X>]

Wyngaerde shows the arrangement of the buildings, concentrated in blocks, allowing free view of the river to the north of the stone gate, the south of the great gate, and north of the chapel of St Thomas. Norden’s view of 1624 (Figure 3.4) confirms that structures varied between gables aligned toward the roadway, and parallel to it, and between three and four storeys in height. The large centre pier of the bridge was built especially to accommodate the chapel of St Thomas. In 1384-96 the chapel was reconstructed during the term of Henry Yevele as Bridge Warden, who almost

⁵¹ Watson, Bringham, and Dyson, *London Bridge*, 85, 89.

⁵² Vanessa Harding and Laura Wright, *London Bridge Selected Accounts and Rentals, 1381-1538* (London: London Record Society, 1995), 38.

certainly supervised the perpendicular design, which featured a five-sided apsidal east end, undercroft and small turret.⁵³ Two chaplains and four clerks celebrated in this chapel in 1501, officially under the jurisdiction of the parish of St Magnus, but in practice under the aegis of the Bridge House.⁵⁴ Surveys were made at the demolition of the chapel in 1832, but few details were recorded and even fewer artefacts remain – principally only two wooden sculptures of around 0.5m, dating from the late fifteenth century and representing St Benedict and God the Father, which were dredged from the river.⁵⁵ These comprised part of the rich decoration of the chapel: the expenses of 1420 alone included the repainting of six such images, and the purchase of a pyx.⁵⁶ Furthermore, a number of chantries operated at the chapel, often originating from defaulting parochial arrangements, contributing to the chapel's reputation for high quality music.⁵⁷

London Bridge was simultaneously a thoroughfare, a means of passing between places, and a place in its own right – it contained almost all elements of any London neighbourhood, but yet remained a *liminal* place – standing between City and country, between parishes, and vulnerable to collapse. The funnelling effect of being the only dry crossing point for many miles ensured that extremely high numbers of pedestrians, horses, and carts were bound to be found crossing at any time. This created a prime location for trade, and a highly visible place of devotion. But it was also a marginal space, much like a modern railway station, where multitudes of people are thrown together, and increased levels of crime and congregations of marginal individuals are found. Fundamentally the bridge was a pre-eminent reason for the prosperity of the city, and especially of the area that surrounded it.

Axis: The Hierarchy of Roads

Roads were just as vital as the river as axes for the trade that was the lifeblood of the area. Those in the study area are summarised in Figure 3.5. These formed a 'hierarchy of access', reflecting relative importance and freedom of access. *Via regia* – the King's Highway – were primary thoroughfares, which the city had the responsibility to maintain, while at the other extreme, lanes and alleys straddled the boundary between public and private.

⁵³ Watson, Brigham, and Dyson, *London Bridge*, 111.

⁵⁴ Harding and Wright, *London Bridge Selected Accounts*, xvi.

⁵⁵ Watson, Brigham, and Dyson, *London Bridge*, 113.

⁵⁶ Harding and Wright, *London Bridge Selected Accounts*, 102.

⁵⁷ Watson, Brigham, and Dyson, *London Bridge*, 114.

Within the neighbourhood Thames Street and Bridge Street (later known as Fish Street Hill) were both described as *via regia*. They were amongst the greatest axes of movement in the whole city – Bridge Street, which lead to Gracechurch Street and thence onto Cheapside – was the route into the heart of the city for all approaching from the south. Thames Street, while lacking the obvious ceremonial and emotional significance of its neighbour, was also vital in linking the diverse riverside neighbourhoods, markets and quays, and follows the inside course of the Roman river wall. Being major routes, known to all in the city, and of constant significance, they were referred to consistently in all documents in the form *vicum regium vocatus Bruggestrete*. Excavation of properties facing the present Fish Street Hill confirm, through refuse pottery, occupation dating to the very earliest phases of re-occupation of the city in the Saxon era – from the late ninth to mid tenth centuries onward. This street was clearly integral to the development of the City.⁵⁸

The greatest number of rights of way were known as ‘lane’, or *venella*. In practice, similar rights and obligations pertained to these as to the official highways. Botolph Lane, a less significant thoroughfare, runs in a straight line, suggesting that it was, like Bridge Street, laid out in the initial phases of reoccupation of the Saxon city. This is confirmed by excavation of abutting properties containing ninth century pottery. Unusually, in this case it has also been possible to excavate the road surface itself, giving an impression of the appearance and maintenance of the lane: well made with flint cobbles and gravel.⁵⁹ By the sixteenth century most roads were paved in stone.⁶⁰ Botolph Lane was paved with the same surface patterns over much of its length, suggesting that the street was surfaced as a whole rather than in a piecemeal fashion.⁶¹ Thus it would appear that the requirement of individual tenement holders to maintain the road outside of their properties was not enacted in a literal sense:

defective pavement shall be kept in repair by the occupiers of the tenements facing the pavement, under penalty of distress being levied for the repair of the same.⁶²

Perhaps tenement owners cooperated informally in the hiring of paviours, thereby ensuring that road surfaces remained consistent, avoiding drainage problems when one tenement-holder repaired his ‘pavement’ leaving it at a higher level than those of his neighbours. This is suggested in some assize of nuisance judgements relating to the paving of streets:

⁵⁸ Horsman, Milne, and Milne, *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London*, 1, 21.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 16.

⁶⁰ Claire Martin, “Transport for London 1250 - 1550” (University of London, 2008), 95, 101.

⁶¹ Horsman, Milne, and Milne, *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London*, 1, 16.

⁶² CLB L, p.84.

On Fri. 2 Mar. 1313 it was adjudged by J. de Gisors, mayor, and the aldermen that John de Watford and John Knyght, tailor, should *within 40 days etc.* remake the pavement outside their tenements in the par. of St. Sepulchre in the suburb of London, which in its present state is to the damage of John de Chibenherst and the other neighbours.⁶³

The city did take responsibility for the maintenance of streets where high volumes of traffic, generated by principal routes or markets, created excessive wear, such as the *via regia*. It appointed paviours, as recorded at intervals in the fourteenth century, and periodically imposed ‘pavage’, a tax on carts entering the city that were likely to cause such damage.⁶⁴ On minor routes the task would have fallen squarely upon tenement owners, for narrower lanes comprised only the adjoining ‘pavements’ outside of each house and a central channel (which marked the limit of a householder’s responsibility). By contrast, wider streets often had a pair of channels, creating a central section for which the neighbouring properties could not be held responsible, forcing the city authorities into action. Thus obligations on a single tenement would not have varied dependent on whether it faced a lane or highway – perhaps unfairly, considering the increased commercial opportunities presented to the owner of a tenement facing a major thoroughfare.⁶⁵

⁶³ Helena M. Chew and William Kellaway, eds., *London Assize of Nuisance, 1301-1431: A Calendar* (London: London Record Society, 1973), 39.

⁶⁴ Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages*, 261. Charges have been calculated in: Martin, “Transport for London 1250 - 1550,” 128.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 133.

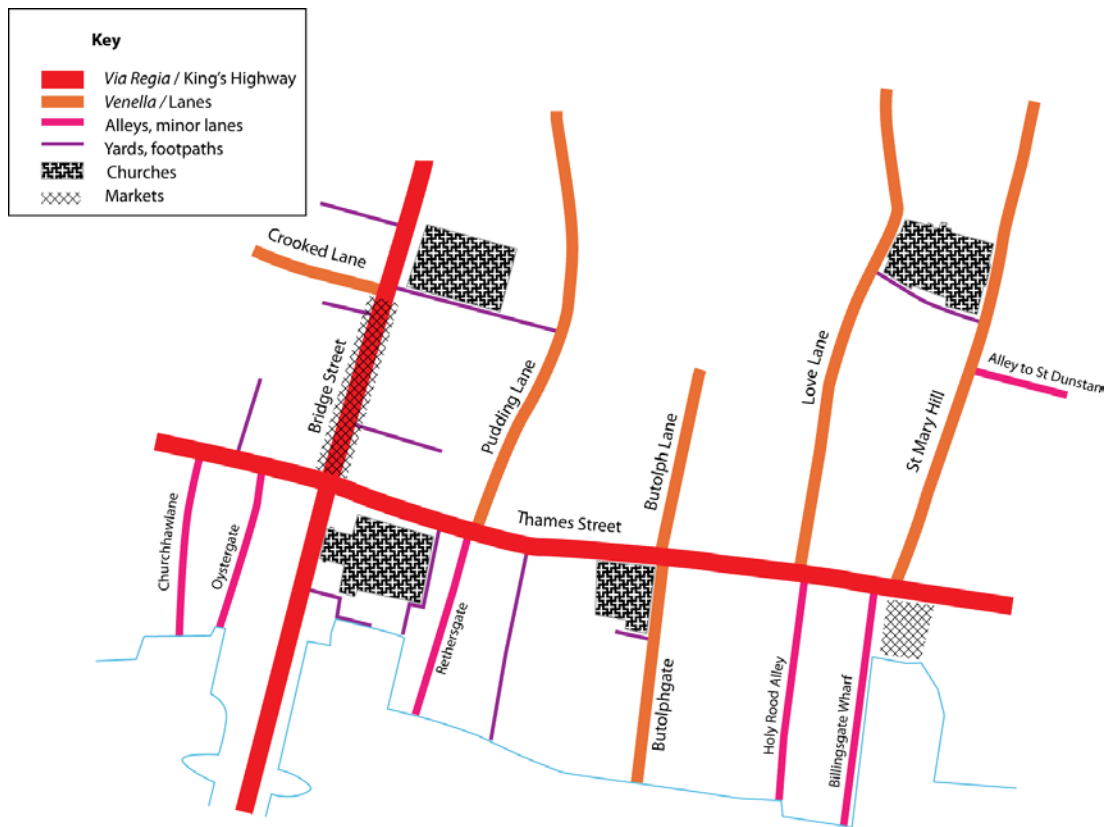


Figure 3.5 – Thoroughfares identified as highways, lanes, alleys and minor yards and passages, with churches and markets indicated [compiled from deeds and map regression]

Lanes north of Thames Street included: Pudding Lane in St Botolph Billingsgate and St Margaret Bridge Street, which led north up to Eastcheap; Crooked Lane in St Margaret, which led west to St Michael Crooked Lane, St Bololph's Lane in St Bololph, which led past St Andrew Hubbard, again north to Eastcheap. In the parish of St Mary at Hill, Love Lane also led north to the church of St Andrew by a more circuitous route, while St Mary Hill Lane led north across Eastcheap to the church of St Margaret Pattens, and a minor lane led east to the church of St Dunstan in the East. All of these are referred to in deeds as *venella*, yet perceptions of them clearly differed. The lane leading from St Mary at Hill to St Dunstan was a minor thoroughfare, for when it appears in deeds it is referred to only as '*venella prout itur a dicta ecclesia Beate Marie on the Hill usque ad ecclesiam Sci Dunstani in le Est*'.⁶⁶ The lane lacked its own distinct identity – it was only described by relation to the places that it connected. Similarly St Mary Hill Lane only gained its appellation in the sixteenth century, when it appears as 'the lane called Seynt Marye Hill Lane' – prior to this it was referred to as '*venellam que ducit de ecclesia Beate Marie atte Hull usque Billingsgate*'.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ HR 160(21).

⁶⁷ HR 214(52), HR123 (83).

Lanes that existed without an acknowledged name were of limited significance in the conception of contemporaries, for it would have been cumbersome to describe them in common speech, for example, when giving directions. Naming a street enables its use as a reference point, common to all. The implication is that while the points the lane connected may have been widely known, the lane itself was not. Those lanes that acquired names were those that most Londoners would have been expected to know; therefore it may be surprising that there was so much variation of the names of many of these lanes. Yet effort was often made to ensure that ambiguity was avoided, while reflecting on-going changes to the commonly accepted identity of the lane. The best example of this is Pudding Lane, which carried the name Retherslane in a deed of 1397. Both of these names were connected with the butchery trade of Eastcheap, as partially correctly identified by Stow:⁶⁸

Then haue yee one other lane called Rother Lane, or Red Rose Lane, of such a signe there, now commonly called Pudding Lane, because the Butchers of Eastcheape haue their skalding House for Hogges there, and their puddinges with other filth of Beastes, are voided downe that way to theyr dung boates on the Thames.⁶⁹

Stow uses 'Retherslane' when mentioning the lane in relation to other places, such as St Margaret Bridge Street church, although his antiquarian interests may have influenced this.⁷⁰ Most anciently, as noted in Kingsford's notes, the street was known as Finches Lane in 1407, and in 1448 it is referred to as 'Retherslane formerly called Fyncheslane, now called Puddynglane'.⁷¹

Retherslane, or Rethersgatelane originates from Rederes Gate, later known as Fresh Wharf, which was so-named as the landing place for cattle destined to be sold at Eastcheap – '*bryther*' being Saxon for horned cattle.⁷² The use of the lane to systematically dispose of butcher's offal was first mentioned in 1393, when the company obtained a writ from parliament allowing construction of a house and pier for removal of the 'filth' into mid-stream by boat. In 1402, moreover, the Mayor confirmed permission, and a 'bridge' or jetty was constructed between the tenements of Gilbert Maughfeld and Henry Boseworth, to allow the offal to be cast off into the river.⁷³ This was immediately reflected in the nomenclature used in deeds: whereas the deed of 1397 had referred

⁶⁸ HR 126(26)

⁶⁹ Stow, *A Survey of London*, 211.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 212.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, ii, 311. HR 134(25), 178(11).

⁷² Marjorie B. Honeybourne, "The Pre-Norman Bridge of London," in *Studies in London History Presented to Philip Edmund Jones*, ed. A. E. J. Hollaender and W Kellaway (London, 1969), 32.

⁷³ CLB H, 392, CLB I, 22.

only to Retherslane, in 1399 another described it as ‘*Retherslane dictus Puddynglane*’ – indicating that it was reflecting a new name in common use, while similarly in 1403 it was ‘*venella vocatus Retherslane dictus Puddynglane*’ and by the 1420s it had become the ‘*venella vocata Puddynglane ad antiquo dictus Retherslane*’.⁷⁴ This transition in popular naming of the lane was thus remarkably quick, especially considering that legal documents tend to be conservative. Within a few years of the first formal permission for offal to be disposed of (although it undoubtedly would have occurred informally beforehand) the lane had been appropriately dubbed, and within another twenty years, certainly within human memory, its former name became perceived as ‘ancient’. Similar processes can be seen, although more sparsely documented, in the case of Lovat Lane – from Roperlane *nunc vocatum Lovelane* in 1395, through simply *iam* ‘now’ *vocata Lovelane* in 1406 to only ‘*vocata Lovelane*’ in 1415.⁷⁵ The chronologies of these lanes are detailed in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 – Summary of descriptions of Pudding Lane and Love Lane, c.1395-c.1450 [derived from deeds enrolled in the Court of Husting].

Pudding Lane		Lovat Lane	
1397	Venellam vocatus Retherslane	1395	Venellam quondam nominatum Roperlane nunc vocatum Lovelane
1399	Retherslane dictus Puddynglane	(1436)	Venellam quondam nominatum Roperlane nunc vocatum Lovelane
1403	Venella vocatus Retherslane dictus Puddynglane	1406	Venella iam vocata Lovelane
1407	Viam Regium dictus Fynkeslane	1415	Venella vocata Lovelane
1412	Venella vocatus Puddynglane		
1427	Venella vocata Puddynglane ad antiquo dictus Retherslane		
1448	Retherslane formerly Fyncheslane now Puddynglane		

Descriptions of a tenement at the corner of Thames Street and Lovat Lane in the parish of St Mary at Hill provide a revealing case study. The lane was referred to as ‘*venellam quondam nominatum Roperlane nunc vocatum Lovelane*’ in exactly the same manner in deeds from both 1395 and 1436.⁷⁶ This conservatism probably explained the description of Pudding Lane as the ‘*viam regium dictus Fynkeslane*’ in a deed of 1407 – an interesting ‘slip’ – resurrecting the long defunct name for the lane, and also conflating it with a *via regia*.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ HR 128(12), 131(67), 178(11), GL MS 59, [23].

⁷⁵ HR 124(79), 134(19), 143(12).

⁷⁶ HR 124(79), 165(2)

⁷⁷ HR 134(25)

The conservatism around legal processes – born of the desire to establish ancient precedent – encouraged the copying of forms from existing deeds in order to emphasize continuity. In a comparative example, a study of deeds in Marseille revealed that it was primarily notaries who actually used street names, while in fraternity registers only 13% of individuals personally chose to give their address this way, 78% described their place of residence by reference to a local landmark. Smail concludes that in that context, the use of street names was ‘antithetical to neighbourhood’.⁷⁸ No such comparisons can be made in the case of fifteenth century London, yet this remains a useful reminder of the issues of perception and mental cartography.

The humblest routes were the semi-private minor lanes, alleys and yards. Unlike the lanes running north of Thames Street, the alleys and lanes south of it were not to survive the Great Fire in recognizable forms. They were generally much narrower, seldom exceeding ten feet, and could be as narrow as four feet, thereby ‘failing’ the medieval standard that two carts should be able to pass freely.⁷⁹ Nonetheless, the main lanes south of Thames Street were clear continuations of those to the north, and carried names ending –wharf or –gate. These included Rethersgate, which ran down to the Thames from Retherslane (Pudding Lane) and was the appointed place for cattle; Botolph’s Gate leading from Botolph’s Lane – the public jetty for ferries; and Holyroodwharf, leading to Love Lane and clearly connected with the church of St Mary. Oystergate, to the west of the bridge, provides an exception to this pattern, running no further north than Thames Street. These were public lanes providing access to public stairs and landing places.

Alleys often spanned the boundary from public into ambiguous private status. These were the thoroughfares that existed only for the use of those residing or working within a tenement, they did not provide a through-route from the road to any other public place. Many were created when owners of tenements subdivided their properties and needed to provide access to newly created units, otherwise isolated from the regular grid pattern of lanes that existed around the riverfront. Others existed within a tenement unit purely to enable its occupants to pass between the street frontage and the water. These alleys do not appear in deeds, for they formed no boundaries or abutments, being contained entirely within a tenement. They only appear when a sub-unit of a tenement, often a warehouse or cellar, was leased, donated or sold independently of the rest of the tenement unit. For example, in 1497 John Payn left a quit-rent issuing from a:

messuage with the cellars solars and all other appurtenances which Thomas Clerk grocer and Anneys his wife late held set and lying in the midst or about the midst of

⁷⁸ Smail, “The Linguistic Cartography of Property and Power in Late Medieval Marseille,” 47.

⁷⁹ Martin, “Transport for London 1250 - 1550,” 92.

the alley of his tenement called Childeskey and now called Payneskey in Thamisesstrete in the parish of St Botolph Billingsgate.⁸⁰

This alley existed as access not only for the owner of the tenement, but also for his tenants, and for their customers and callers. Private space was thereby transformed into a quasi-public space. Nonetheless, these lanes had no official status beyond that negotiated privately by those party to them. Many deeds are specific in their definition of private alleys, usually guaranteeing access to the wharf itself, as in this indenture of 1452:

William Marowe concedes to Helen and William for their lives free entrance and exit to and onto the wharf for themselves and their servants at all proper and opportune times with goods, chattels and other things that they wish to introduce and remove from that place, and needing to be carried from ships and vessels being in that place, with any wagons. And their lawful easements, that they may have simultaneously, freely and quietly, and also that they may have there any alien men or any persons that Helen and William will sell to. Or if they likewise need to remove goods arising from ships freely and quietly at any time, without any trouble or impediment by William Marowe, his executors or assigns ...⁸¹

It appears that all alleys leading from the river that do not correspond with a public road or lane north of Thames Street had similar private origins.⁸² Similar private alleys also existed in numerous inland locations, giving access to the interior of a large tenement, and were formed as the result of similar processes of sub-division. Without the demands of access to a wharf, these thoroughfares would have been even more 'private', and indeed improvised, taking only the form demanded of them by day-to-day usage. For example, the inn known as the 'Brodegate' on the west side of Bridge Street opposite the church of St Margaret, is described as having solars '*supra*' its '*magnam portam*' – describing an enclosed, semi-private yard containing numerous individually let rooms.⁸³

Inhabitants of the Bridgehead were connected by a wide range of different thoroughfares, some of which – the *via regia* – many people would have used daily. Most lanes would have been familiar to local residents, and probably to a good proportion of Londoners, by virtue of their widely accepted names. Alleys and yards, by contrast represented a level in the hierarchy of access that relatively few would have been familiar with, save those with a direct need. Meanwhile, all would have been aware of their relationship with the River Thames, which was the reason for the existence of their city, and indeed for the majority of their livelihoods. Yet, as explored below, their access to this vital artery of

⁸⁰ HR 197(18)

⁸¹ GL MS 14318, f.5v-6r.

⁸² Dyson, *Documents and Archaeology: The Medieval London Waterfront*, 22.

⁸³ HR 133*(65)

their neighbourhood was also differentiated, by specific requirements they had of it, and again by distinctions of public and private.

Nodes: Markets and Trading Places

Access to the infrastructure of trade was one of the most powerful draws for medieval Londoners. Yet goods were no use unless they could be traded and, while citizens could ostensibly do so wherever they liked, the City exerted itself considerably in defining 'customary' locations in which various categories of goods could be traded with non-citizens. When over-land communications were relatively slow and expensive, it was logical that a high proportion of the city's basic provisions, as well as higher-value goods traded over longer distances, arrived by water. As a result the Bridgehead contained two regulated markets, along with a handful of other locations where trade took place.

Billingsgate was one of the city's principal grain markets. The market was held in the area of open ground at the head of the dock, known as Romelond (a name also used at Queenhithe).⁸⁴ As at Queenhithe, the primary goods traded were grain and salt, but undoubtedly many of the other goods that were loaded and unloaded at Billingsgate were also sold here. Hugh Alley depicts this area as railed, perhaps showing that the delineation of legitimate trading was considered important. He also shows the arcade, yet people seen there appear to be carrying their goods toward the marketplace at Romelond, confirming that the structure was intended more for transshipping and storage than marketing. Men and women are depicted carrying a wide range of goods, including sacks of (presumably) grain, strings of onions, dried fish and baskets of fruit.⁸⁵

The other market in the Bridgehead was for fish, served by Fish and Fresh wharves. The three official fish markets of the city were at Bridge Street, Old Fish Street, and the Stocks market, representing, as with most market areas, a relatively even distribution throughout the city.⁸⁶ Hugh Alley's *Caveat* provides the best indication of the form of this market in the later sixteenth century. Alley drew the whole area between the church of St Magnus at the cross-roads with Thames Street, and the church of St Margaret at the north, as lined with both the stalls and shops of Fishmongers, displaying a range of small and large fish – complete with hucksters calling their wares.⁸⁷ That the

⁸⁴ CLB G, p.33.

⁸⁵ Alley, *Hugh Alley's Caveat*, 53.

⁸⁶ H. T. Riley, ed., *Liber Custumarum* (London: Longman, 1859), 276.

⁸⁷ Alley, *Hugh Alley's Caveat*, 55.

crossroads was a particular focus of trade is attested by the ward presentments, which specifically complain of:

the tubs and boards of the fishmongers at the corner of St Magnus' church and especially in front of the shops of Deonys Broune, widow of Adam Broune, and Andrew Totyng, and also the barrels in front of the boards of fishmongers in Bridge Street stand out on the highway beyond what is reasonable, to the great nuisance of passers-by, horses and carts.⁸⁸

The shop of Adam Broune can be tentatively identified as SMM W8A – for which in 1420 he was one of several in receipt of a quitclaim.⁸⁹ This property was located in the prime area of Fish Wharf, immediately to the south of the church of St Magnus, so would have been an ideal location for the sale of fish. The shop of Andrew Totyng cannot be identified, but must have been nearby.

⁸⁸ CPMR, 1413-37, p.139.

⁸⁹ HR 151(43)

3.4 The Power of Topographical Actors

The symbolic nodes of the Bridgehead, the secular features that drew people together to specific places, included markets, wharves and London Bridge itself. These features were not merely passive recipients of the actions of Londoners, but acted as agents in their own right. Markets were not simply places where people could buy and sell, but places to which people *came*, to buy and sell. A market was a 'trip generator', to use modern planning parlance, for knowledge of goods it provided caused people to go there. Wharves and docks such as Billingsgate and Botolph Wharf, and even the Thames itself, through their existence and their statutory uses, similarly drew together those people who sought to dispatch and receive goods by water. London Bridge was, however, the pivotal actor in the neighbourhood – it did not simply provide a means of crossing the river, but it gathered together and funnelled huge numbers of people seeking to cross it. In a sense it created the neighbourhood. While the churches and markets were integral to the local system of nodes and paths used by residents, the bridge was both node and axis for the whole country.

The significance of the Bridge, and of the other nodes of the neighbourhood, was not, however, merely theoretical. As actors, influencing the behaviour of individuals both resident and passing through, their impact was very real. The presence of these nodal points, of local, civic and national importance brought together many people, and with them, innumerable opportunities for relieving them of their money. Retail opportunities were created for things that they never knew they needed, and to sell those that they do need at inflated prices by virtue of the 'captive market'. Likewise the location of the markets, wharves and the major thoroughfares that linked them created somewhat of a guaranteed market for many traders by providing a steady stream of passers-by. Ultimately this meant that, from a commercial perspective, the Bridgehead area was highly desirable. This desirability is made manifest by the development it sponsors, and the high values of local property, as explored in Chapter 4.

These topographical actors, and their influence upon the economic and geographic development of the neighbourhood were not, however, closely related to the institutional geography of the area. The pattern of ward and parish boundaries, explored at the beginning of this chapter, show little or no relationship to the patterns of thoroughfares or economic units such as wharves and markets. While the ward and parish in which a person was located was undoubtedly known to them, and had many roles within their lives, they did not manifest themselves 'on the ground', as commercial activities and means of communication carried on regardless, and contributed far more to the day-to-day lived experience of the City.



Figure 3.6 – Space Syntax analysis of Bridgehead thoroughfares, ‘hotter’ colours indicating greater centrality in the road network (scale: highest red to lowest indigo).

Employing Space Syntax methodology, it is possible to witness the topographic influences upon the form of the neighbourhood as a place, as well as its effect on property values, as explored in the following chapter. Figure 3.6 illustrates, in the most basic form, the calculated to- and through-movement potential throughout the local road network. This comprises both integration, representing the ‘centrality’ of any one location in terms of the number of steps needed to be taken to reach it from any other point, and the number of times which a place forms a waypoint between other locations in the network. Thames Street, Bridge Street, and London Bridge contain the very highest ratings, indicating that they were both highly accessible (within the neighbourhood), and that they were indeed key routes. These were both a product of topographic influences – the location of the bridge for instance, and also the cause of some local features – Bridge Street market was located at the point within the neighbourhood with the very highest rating. The following chapter illustrates some of the impacts of this centrality.

4 Property

The vast majority of the Bridgehead was not composed of public spaces such as churches and markets, but rather by private spaces: houses, workshops and warehouses. These are the very definition of the location as an urban space, and the reason for the existence of all ‘public’ features. The relationship between topography and property is symbiotic: features such as markets relied upon the presence of large numbers of people for their existence, but simultaneously provided the impetus for those people to gather. This drew together individuals engaged in trade by providing the greatest chances to engage potential clients. Consequently this drove demand for properties with easiest access to the nodes that encouraged people into the area, and there was no question that many of the streets within the neighbourhood provided ‘prime locations’. Real-property, while in essence ‘solid’, was always in flux, its forms following to some degree the ebbs and flows of the city’s economy:

The property market has a central role in urban affairs. It is one of the means by which a town adapts to changes in its size and prosperity, as those who control land and buildings, or the income from them, seek to maximise their profit in response to the demands of inhabitants who seek sites in which to practise their trade, or places of residence appropriate to their station.¹

This chapter addresses both the objects of the property market: the actual tenements that made up the neighbourhood, and the trends and patterns seen amongst the property market. Physical remains of private secular buildings of medieval London are almost entirely extinct, therefore discussion draws heavily upon Schofield’s extensive treatment of their forms and functions, which itself is primarily reliant upon documentary evidence of various varieties, and upon inference from extant structures in other English towns and cities.²

Most significant are the trends that emerge amongst property ownership. In one respect the stock of available tenements within the neighbourhood was constantly declining throughout the fifteenth century, as ever increasing numbers of tenements entered mortmain, intended to support chantries, Companies, and occasionally monastic institutions. Of the property remaining on the market clear concentrations were to be found amongst the occupations of owners: both in terms of which Companies were present in large numbers, and where the properties that they owned or invested in

¹ Derek Keene, “The Property Market in English Towns, Ad 1100-1600,” in *D’une Ville À L’autre: Structures Matérielles Et L’organisation De L’espace Dans Les Villes Européennes, 13e-16e Siècle*, ed. J-C Marie Vigueur (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1989), 210.

² John Schofield, *Medieval London Houses* (New Haven (CT) and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1995).

were located within the neighbourhood. These trends simultaneously reflect the power of the topographical actors and the importance in place in the definition of space, discussed in Chapter 3, and the relative wealth of London's various occupations, beginning to indicate the social makeup of the neighbourhood, which is discussed at length in Chapter 5. The link between the facilities of place, and the social composition of the area can be regarded as the key defining-factor in the creation of 'lived space'.

4.1 Tenements and Houses – Products of their Environment

Tenements, Messuages and Capital Messuages

The most common description of property in medieval London deeds is ‘tenement’. Unlike a modern Scottish ‘tenement building’, in the medieval English context it implied no more than a unit of land holding: a tenement was not a class of building. As in many other English cities, the standard width of a tenement was one perch (4.8m), the approximate width of one gable. This is not, however, the same as the burgage plot, derived from the Saxon street and soke system.³ Largely extinct by the period in question, the *soke* comprised multiple tenements and was usually in the hands of a major ecclesiastical or aristocratic owner.⁴

Tenement formats can be characterised from descriptions in many deeds. Owned by an individual (or corporation) they would usually have appeared as distinct features of the streetscape. While potentially comprising multiple structures in diverse uses and occupation, they nonetheless usually possessed an internal coherence. The best insight into the common forms of tenements comes from the surveys of Ralph Treswell, the sixteenth-century surveyor of the Clothworkers’ Company. Schofield’s analysis of these plans allows conjecture as to the nature of various ‘types’ of properties to be found in the Bridgehead.

The most common type in the study area equates to Schofield’s ‘type 3’: medium size plots with a ground plan of at least three to six rooms.⁵ While seldom featuring a distinct courtyard, these properties usually included some form of yard with access from the street frontage. They often included a primary high-status house surrounded by ancillary service-buildings, and shops facing the street frontage. This reflected in the frequent description of a tenement as ‘*omnia tenementa mea, mansiones et shopas cum omnibus suis pertinentiis*’.⁶ Naturally descriptions vary and are specific to individual properties, but almost all in some way indicate a tenement *with* a shop, a house, a wharf or other commercial structure. The reconstructed map of tenements shows that the great majority of tenement plots were at least 140m² in footprint, allowing a generous structure (Figure 4.1).

³ Sarah Rees Jones, “Building Domesticity in the City: English Urban Housing Before the Black Death,” in *Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England*, ed. P.J.P. Goldberg and Maryanne Kowaleski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 74.

⁴ Harding, “Real Estate,” 552.

⁵ John Schofield, *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell* (London: London Topographical Society, 1987), 15.

⁶ HR 225(6).

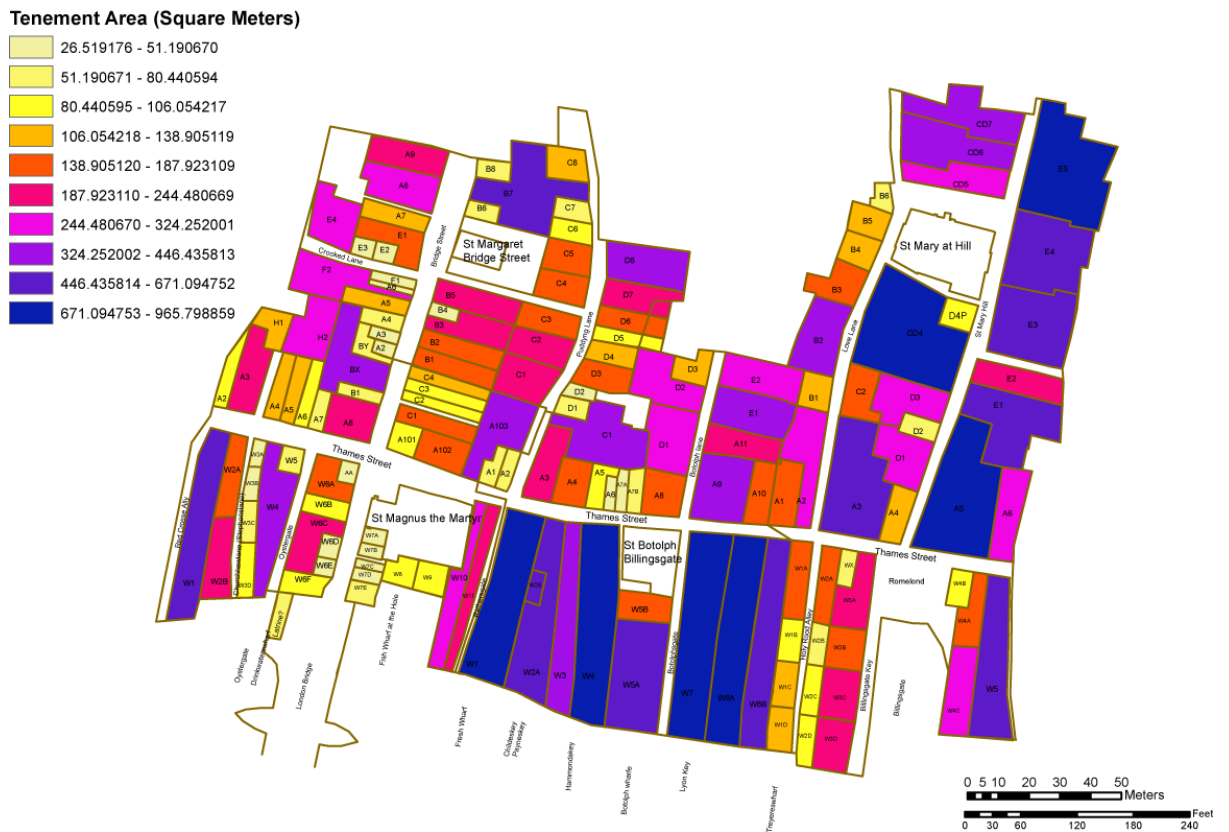


Figure 4.1 – Tenement map with area indicated based upon reconstructed and conjectured property boundaries.

Large properties were often subdivided, with shops and solars at the front being let independently. Nonetheless, a primary residential structure remained at the heart of most tenements – and was the structure that defined it – the occupier of which was referred to as its ‘holder’. Waterside properties provide some clear examples of this type of arrangement, and in the case of the properties between the churches of St Magnus and St Botolph, archaeological work can sometimes confirm their layout. Properties SMM W11 and SBB W1-W4 comprise the ‘New Fish Wharf’ site excavated by the Museum of London in the mid-1970s. Tenement SBB W4, known as Hammond’s Key in the later fifteenth century, was preserved to a reasonable extent in two of its medieval forms. The first recorded stage, dated to the early thirteenth century, comprised a basic plan with two first-floor rooms; front hall and back room, supported by a cellar of 3 x 2 bays arranged perpendicular to the street. In the early sixteenth-century this was replaced by a more complex structure, which comprised a greater number of smaller rooms with better access to both the street and the alley which ran down the east side of the building toward its wharf. Schofield conjectures that this reflects a change in the pattern of trade, away from wholesale toward retail.⁷ In 1439 Thomas Crofton, the executor of Geoffrey Dalling, donated the property to the Vintners’ Company – this is

⁷ John Schofield, “New Fresh Wharf: 3, the Medieval Buildings,” *London Archaeologist* 3, no. 3 (1977): 72; Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, 221.

reflected in the fabric of the building – the cellars were found to contain the remains of wooden racking, suitable for barrels or casks.⁸ The neighbouring building, SBB W3, was found to have had a similar fifteenth-century form, with a plan of three rooms in width (one wide and two narrow) and two in depth. The narrowest of these rooms were in fact raised cellars, supporting a lane running to the east of the property. All walls excavated up to a height of around 3.5m were faced in an intricate chequer-work pattern of chalk and flint, indicating a relatively high status building throughout.⁹

These mid-sized properties were, by the fifteenth century, designed to more flexible forms than previously – by the inclusion of multiple smaller rooms it was more suited to the division of ownership than a earlier-medieval hall-form structure, which could only be practically used by one concern. Slightly larger and more prestigious properties were designed to combine commercial and private functions. The fourteenth-century rebuilding of Pakeman's Wharf, in the parish of St Dunstan in the East, is exceptionally well documented: a three storey structure with a depth of 40 ft from the street was specified, divided into two 'houses' with space for merchandise, a great hall measuring 40 x 24 ft behind, with a parlour, kitchen and buttery at the rear. The west side of the street frontage was enclosed by a gate leading to an open cart-way allowing access to the wharf at the riverside and its crane.¹⁰

Inland properties often also featured this basic format, allowing access to multiple buildings within the site and, importantly, allowing independent access to these. One of only two properties in the neighbourhood which featured in Treswell's surveys is SMBS C5, which was of this 'typical' format featuring a 17½ ft frontage, but with a 3-4 ft wide alley giving access to at least two distinct structures. Unfortunately, the form depicted was the result of a rebuilding of 1573-5, for which it was specified that the stone wall fronting the street was to be replaced with a two-storey wooden framed structure. This stone wall reflects the description of the tenement as 'lately built upon' by Thomas Dounham in 1452, for as it was conveyed by his executors to the church of St Margaret in 1484, it would have been likely to escape further rebuilding.¹¹ In 1611 the property had a floor plan of 7 significant rooms (plus a coalhouse and 'little closets'), split between the tenancies of four individuals. The holders of the two shop units on the street frontage, including the parish of St Margaret, possessed all the rooms and garrets above. Meanwhile John Dorrell was in possession of

⁸ GL MS 15364, ff.32-34.

⁹ Schofield, "New Fresh Wharf," 70.

¹⁰ L. F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540 a Documentary History*, 1st ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 464.

¹¹ GL MS 1174, f.81v, 93v.

the original hall located behind the street frontage, complete with the chambers above it, a yard and a kitchen. Daniel Kirby had a small subsidiary building of two storeys in the furthest corner of the yard.¹² The high division of occupancy was a reflection of the seventeenth century property market, and its fifteenth century usage can only be conjectured to have been broadly similar. This format made best use of a system of plots where the street frontage was the primary determinant of value. Consequently plots were often long and thin, necessitating such access arrangements and, as confirmed in Wyngaerde's panorama, most buildings faced their gable end toward the street, giving a perpendicular roofline arrangement.

Le Brodegate, an inn on Bridge Street (SMBS A8), provides another example of a tenement featuring an internal alley. Its name was descriptive, for in a deed of 1406 the inn is described together with rooms and appurtenances '*supra magnam portam dicti hospitii*'.¹³ This usage of *supra* is not uncommon, meaning not 'above' but 'through' or 'beyond'. The inn possessed a yard to the rear, containing subsidiary buildings, likely to have included stables and lodging rooms, accessed behind a great gateway – great enough to earn the property its name. Schofield also attributes this name to a waterside property, SBB W3, where an excavated alley leading back from the street was around 2m wide.¹⁴

The largest tenements were often referred to as a 'capital messuage'. While no hard-and-fast definitions of what such a definition signifies exist, these are essentially Schofield's 'type 4' of miscellaneous larger buildings: these are the well known 'courtyard houses' commonly associated with medieval cities. Characteristically they had a street frontage greater than 10m and a sufficiently large site to accommodate not only the primary house and street frontage of shops, but also warehouses, houses of secondary status sub-let to others, and a distinct courtyard around which these were arranged, accessed via a formal gateway or gatehouse. Contrary to common assumption, the term 'inn' or *hospicium*, did not necessarily relate to a public house, but simply designated a place where visitors could stay, without making a distinction between public and private venues.

Taverns and Alehouses

Public drinking establishments were common throughout the Bridgehead, and are relatively easily identified from documentary evidence. Rather than comprising a single category, these were divided between three types of establishment, of descending status. The Latin term *hospicium* or the English 'inn' is used for at least six tenement units that are not known to be private or ecclesiastical inns,

¹² Schofield, *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell*, 110.

¹³ HR 133*(65).

¹⁴ Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, 53.

suggesting strongly that they were public inns where travellers could hire rooms.¹⁵ These establishments undoubtedly also provided food and drink, as did their smaller slightly less prestigious relations, taverns. Taverns were defined as drinking establishments where wine was available, and as such were usually run by members of the Vintners' Company and were marked by a pole decorated with leaves. While prior to the fifteenth century they had often been located in cellars, by its close many had appeared with public rooms only on the ground floor.¹⁶ At least four tenements in the Bridgehead were definitively referred to with the Latin *tabernam* or English 'tavern'. The lowest in the hierarchy, although not necessarily the smallest, of public houses were the alehouses, marked originally by the symbol of a pole adorned with a bush, and evidently by the later medieval period by a hoop. The hoop symbol has been explained as deriving from the hoops used in beer barrels, perhaps reflecting the distinction that an alehouse sold ale and beer bought from a commercial brew-house, which would have been supplied in barrels.¹⁷

Brewhouses were larger complexes, which operated on a commercial scale by the fifteenth century, supplying many alehouses as well as by retail. This wholesale trade represented a developing division of labour in the market for ale, and increasingly beer, which required specialist equipment rather than the handful of semi-domestic vessels needed for small-scale ale production.¹⁸ An indication of the kind of equipment, and therefore extensive premises needed for beer production is given in an Assize of Nuisance case from 1431 relating to a brewhouse in the parish of St Mildred Poultry:

... two leads (plumbes), two leaden 'taptrogh' with all their appurtenances (apparaille), two 'masshtonnes', three quernes in a 'bynne' in the brewhouse (brwerne), and two 'ziletonnes' in the cellar (celer) belong to the free tenement of Nicholas, with all the benches, 'speres', 'entreclosewalles', the cellar (celour) beneath the parlour, the door, windows, 'steyres', a great press of two floors (j graunt presse de deux flores) in the 'pavyng chambre', the pavement in the hall (sale) and the chambers there and all the 'crestes' in the hall and parlour; but the other household goods in the tenement, viz. vats (fattes), kimmels (kymyls), 'tubbes', 'tynes', 'clensyngsyvis', 'barellys', 'fourmes', 'bordes', tables and other moveables ...¹⁹

Three brewhouses have been identified in the parish of St Magnus, two in St Mary at Hill, and one in St Botolph Billingsgate (Table 4.1).

¹⁵ Ibid., 55.

¹⁶ Ibid., 54.

¹⁷ Mia Ball, *The Worshipful Company of Brewers: A Short History* (London, 1977), 63; Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History* (London: Longman, 1983), 29.

¹⁸ Judith M. Bennett, *Ale, Beer and Brewsters in England: Women's Work in a Changing World, 1300-1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 49.

¹⁹ Chew and Kellaway, *London Assize of Nuisance, 1301-1431: A Calendar*, 646.

The distinctions in terminology described the services available – accommodation, wine or only ale – all would have provided some form of food. The importance of the tavern or inn as a social venue is illustrated by their use by Companies and parishes as a convenient location for meetings in the absence of their own hall, or simply for ease. The churchwardens' accounts of St Mary at Hill are littered with references to payments to various inns and taverns, both in and away from the parish, for food and drink during meetings, most notably when hiring (and presumably interviewing) new members of staff. For example, the accounts of St Mary at Hill include '[for] bred, ale & a Rybbe of bieff Spent at the Castell' in fish' strett on dyuerse of the parishons at the visitacion of the bishope of london in Seint Magnys chirche Summa, viij d' in 1497 and in 1527 'paid the vjth day of Merche, at the hiring of Balthazar the clerk, at the Son tavern viij d'.²⁰ Such references make it tempting to suppose that the tavern was just as common a location for the negotiation of contracts as was the church, which is commonly sited as the default location for such activity.

The Castle on the Hoop, evidently an alehouse, and the Sun near Billingsgate are among the public houses summarised in Table 4.1. Examination of the location of these drinking houses reveals a clear concentration toward Bridge Street, and around Billingsgate, despite the fact that some taverns identified from St Mary's churchwardens' accounts cannot be located, including the Ship at Billingsgate where a porter was killed in 1510.²¹ Within those plots identified as taverns or alehouses, more so than inns, it seems likely that the 'shop' hosted the actual drinking. This further illustrates that the areas of highest concentration of traffic, on its principal thoroughfares and quays, were naturally enough the most popular locations for public houses, just as they were the locations of the highest pressure on land and thus smallest plot-size.

²⁰ Littlehales, *Records of a City Church*, 230, 343.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 276.

Table 4.1 – Inns, taverns, alehouses, and brewhouses identified, with dates first recorded and reconstructed estimate of area in square meters [evidence from deeds].

Tenement	Name	Description	Area (m ²)	First Ref
SBBA7		formerly brewhouse	376	1437
SBBW7	le Lyon on the Hoop	tenement	869	1397
SMFSA8	Le Hotelar formerly Le Brodegate	hospicium \ tavern	275	1406
SMFSB7	Le Sterre	hospicium	570	1397
SMHA2	le Swan at Billingsgate	tavern	324	1483
SMHE5		brewhouse	865	1353
SMHW3	le Lambe on the Hoop	tenement with wharf	232	1411
SMHW5	le Culver	brewhouse with wharf	529	1397
SMHW5	le Culver	plot \ tenement	529	1459
SMMA102	le Glene	brewhouse	175	1395
SMMA102	le Rede Lyon	hospicium	175	1504
SMMA103	le Dolphyn	brewhouse	349	1391
SMMBX	le Castell	tenement 3 shops \ inn	341	1428
SMMBY	le Belle	tabernam	73	1436
SMMC1	le Kyngeshede	inn	146	1417
SMMW10	le Cok on the Hoop	brewhouse	259	1405
SMH D3	le Sune	tenement \ alehouse	288	1491
? SMH	le Bishops Hat			
? SMH	le Ship at Billingsgate			
? SMH	le Salutation	tavern		1504



Figure 4.2 – Tenements positively identified as inns, taverns or alehouses.

Aristocratic or Ecclesiastical Inns

One of the largest and most significant large properties in the Bridgehead was the inn of the Abbots of Waltham, located immediately south of the church of St Mary at Hill. Originally built in the twelfth or thirteenth century, it features in deeds only as an abutment, yet numerous details survive in documents surrounding the dissolution of the Abbey, and excavations in 1980-81, allowing a reconstruction of its medieval form.²² The inn comprised a broadly square, two storied structure, presenting a blank wall toward Lovat Lane and a gatehouse facing, but set back from, St Mary at Hill Lane. When the inn was documented by the Court of Augmentation in 1540, it has been divided into three units of occupation: the cellars facing Love Lane together with the great chamber above were let privately. The custodian and his wife occupied two chambers and a gallery along with stables and sheds below, between the gate and the rectory of St Mary at Hill. The abbey only had the usage of four service rooms and a chapel on the ground floor and a hall, chamber and dormitory on the first. The kitchen, presumably previously an independent structure (to avoid fire) to the north, was by then accommodated on the (single storey) north range of the main courtyard after the church subsumed it in its new south aisle in 1500.²³ The only other inn of this nature in the study area was that owned by Lord Grey in the fifteenth century, previously by the Despensers, further up St Mary Hill and Love Lane, at SMH CD6.²⁴ Little is known about this inn, but it would seem that it was considerably smaller than that of the Abbots, and may well have lapsed into life of a regular tenement before the earlier sixteenth century when it is no longer mentioned. By the late fifteenth century ecclesiastical or aristocratic inns were subject to the same commercial pressures and used in a similar, *divided*, way to any other tenement.

Shops and Small Houses

When a tenement was described *with* subsidiary units, these were usually sub-let independently. This highlights questions of public and private: ‘ownership’ of the space shared between the resultant multiple units of occupation straddled the distinction between lying within the private ownership of the primary tenement owner or lessee, and tenants of sub-units, and their clients and guests also having rights of access. In the fifteenth century these relationships were increasingly expressed legally in deeds and indentures, with the tenants of small units seen as entirely

²² Derek Gadd, “The London Inn of the Abbots of Waltham: A Revised Reconstruction of a Medieval Town House in Lovat Lane,” *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 34 (1983): 173.

²³ Littlehales, *Records of a City Church*, 240.

²⁴ HR 37(76); 159(25).

independent, perhaps without even access to a privy, rather than having been regarded as legal dependants of the householder in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.²⁵

Division of plots entailed both the letting of rooms in existing structures and, increasingly often, the physical division, and construction, of smaller houses. The 'type 2' structure defined by Schofield was of only two rooms in plan, although often extending three or more floors in height, with the ground floor dedicated to commercial uses and the hall on the first floor, with further chambers on third or higher levels.

Amongst the smallest of the properties surveyed by Treswell was SMM A101, at the south-east corner of Bridge Street and Thames Street, representative of Schofield's 'type 1' property. This house had a floor plan of only one room, measuring 13 x 14 ft, but extended to a height of five storeys, plus garret, and was in the occupation of only one individual.²⁶ It is not possible to tell if these measurements reflect further division, extension or rebuilding of the property from its fifteenth century form, yet it would be credible to assume that it would have followed a broadly similar format. This is surely the best illustration of the pressure upon property value in the area, and especially at this location, which made it viable not only to reduce the floor plan to such an extent and remain viable, but also to justify building so high.

The most explicitly public element within a tenement was the shop, and in the case of small properties, this was the primary room. While in many ways a medieval shop might resemble modern preconceptions, there was little distinction between venues for retailing and manufacturing or processing. Some Cheapside shops described by Keene were only around 2m wide, and with a doorway only 0.5m wide. In such a small and inaccessible space it appears to have been the practice for the staff or owner to work, possibly at manufacturing, inside, while goods would be displayed on a stall attached to the window-frame, and protected by a 'pentice' folded out from the top of the window.²⁷ The shops fronting Bridge Street, attached to already small tenement units, very probably resembled this description. Indeed, the background of Hugh Alley's depiction of the market on Fish Street Hill shows just this form of small shops with projecting stalls, although the buildings themselves were much taller than he depicts them.²⁸

²⁵ Rees Jones, "Building domesticity in the city," 88; Thomas and Jones, *CalPMR*, 1413-37, p.23.

²⁶ Schofield, *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell*, 115.

²⁷ Derek Keene, "Sites of Desire: Shops, Selds and Wardrobes in London and Other English Cities, 1100-1550," in *Buyers & Sellers: Retail Circuits and Practices in Mediaeval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Bruno Blondé et al. (Turnhout: Brepolis, 2007), 131.

²⁸ Alley, *Hugh Alley's Caveat*, 55.

The smallest buildings, formed of a shop and attendant chambers or ‘solars’ above, were usually the result of subdivision of larger properties, either with the aim of producing a ‘screen’ to shield the largest dwellings from the bustle of the street, or simply to exploit the commercial opportunities of the property. Evidence from both other areas of London and from Winchester indicates that subdivision of properties was at its peak in the fourteenth and later sixteenth centuries, and in fact the fifteenth century saw some consolidation of property and declining population density.²⁹ Little evidence emerges of subdivision of properties within the period studied. While SBB A7A and B are described as ‘two messuages with appurtenances situated in the parish of St Botolph which were formerly one brewhouse in the possession of Richard Dorkyng’ in 1437, separation apparently occurred before the opening of the century.³⁰ Conversely, an indenture of 1399 enrolled in the Court of Husting documents how the new owner of a shop (SMM B1B) measuring only 8 ft deep by 7 ft wide leased the vacant back yard of his property to the owner of the large tenement behind (SMM H2) in order to allow him to expand and rebuild it.³¹

Small shops and houses were ‘transient’ zones between the public life of the street and the private life of the home, not only in being spaces where members of the public could enter in order to purchase goods or services, but they also formed part of a larger ‘private’ zone: a tenement. In this way they also acted as the buffer zone between the rich and the poor. Treswell’s surveys illustrate the gradation between the street and the most private parlours and gardens of the wealthy tenement holders, usually punctuated by the presence of shops and warehouses – in the example of Lady Wood’s house in Fleet Lane it was necessary to pass through eight doorways to reach the parlour.³² Public space was seemingly avoided by those who could afford to, but nonetheless the rich remained drawn to central locations where they could remain at the centre of their trade. The areas of the highest commercial potential and land values were thus not primarily the zones of the richest Londoners; instead, the prime locations were occupied by those of the medium strata of prosperous traders, often as tenants of their more prosperous but hidden neighbours. In the words of Keene:

The social topography of English towns appears to have been determined ... by the interaction of two forces. These were the attraction exercised by the central trading areas upon which urban incomes ultimately depended, and the repulsive force of the high land values created in those areas. Those engaged in retailing and

²⁹ Keene, “The Property Market in English Towns, Ad 1100-1600,” 215.

³⁰ HR 166(43).

³¹ HR 145(14).

³² John Schofield, “Social Perceptions of Space in Medieval and Tudor London Houses,” in *Meaningful Architecture: Social Interpretations of Buildings*, ed. Martin Locock (Avebury, 1994), 202.

distributive trades occupied the sites with highest land values on the principal street frontages.³³

³³ Keene, "The Property Market in English Towns, Ad 1100-1600," 224.

4.2 Property and Place

Signs and Names: Understanding Properties as Places

Signs are indicators of lived social space, not disembodied abstract space.³⁴

Contrary to modern perception, not all buildings carrying a name such as ‘The Swan’ were public houses. While epithets such as ‘on the hoop’ can often confirm that a named tenement was indeed a tavern or alehouse, many tenements carried names that served only as aides to identification. The classic form giving an address as ‘at the sign of the x’ depends on signs being both relatively common and yet unique. Camille saw medieval house signs as totemic, almost magical, signifiers of the buildings, which were assigned to a specific place, rather than a person. Signs and names, like street names, allowed the effective description of locations within the city, and transformed a passive place to a space possessed of identity and agency.

Signs could take the form of a carved slab integral to the building, a niche carvings known as *montjores*, or an object or board suspended over the street, like a modern pub sign. In Paris the most common signs and names referred to religious themes, closely followed by animals. However, in common with general trends in London, those found in the Bridgehead more commonly reflected common objects: the names found here were less exotic than the *maison des marmousets*.³⁵ The number of tenements named in deeds, which were not either wharves (Chapter 3) or taverns or alehouses was quite limited (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 – Tenement names (**not** wharves or alehouses etc.)

Name	Tenement	Year
The Castell	SMM B X	
The Kyngeshede	SMM C 1	1417 - 1541
The Wight Bere	SBB D3	1538
Le Wodehawe	SMH C 2	1358
Le Sonne	SMH E1	1537
Graspeys	SMFS C 3	1407

It was common for both totemic and personal names for tenements to change over time. Moreover, the recording of these names does not appear to have been common in deeds and other

³⁴ Michael Camille, “Signs of the City: Place, Power, and Public Fantasy in Medieval Paris,” in *Medieval Practices of Space*, ed. Barbara Hanawalt and Michal Kobiakka (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 9.

³⁵ Ibid., 15; Bryant Lillywhite, *London Signs: A Reference Book of London Signs from Earliest Times to About the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1972).

documentation (Figure 4.3). The fact that many more names were recorded for taverns in St Mary at Hill's churchwarden's accounts than can be located using deeds surely indicates that names were more common than deeds suggest. Harding identified eighteen named shops in a 75m stretch of Cheapside – using similar sources to those in this study – further indicating that frequency of naming was a function of the importance of the thoroughfare a property was on.³⁶



Figure 4.3 – Tenements for which a name is recorded in at least one instance in the fifteenth century.

Moreover, many named tenements were in fact wharves that carried personal names, related to their present or previous owners. Personal naming appears to have been much more common amongst wharves than inland properties, and as discussed in Chapter 3, tended to form only temporary appellations. If documented personally derived names are excluded (Figure 4.4), the number of named properties is considerably smaller, accounting for only seventeen of over 150 tenements; the majority of these are those identified as taverns and alehouses. These two trends suggest that a name was only recorded in legal documentation when it referred to a place well known throughout the city, perhaps especially to the Aldermen and officials of the Court of Husting. The tavern was a location where individuals might meet contacts for business or social purposes, or a wharf where

³⁶ Vanessa Harding, "Shops, Markets and Retailers in London's Cheapside, C. 1500-1700," in *Buyers & Sellers: Retail Circuits and Practices in Mediaeval and Early Modern Europe* (studies in European Urban History, 9) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 158.

they might go to inspect goods in warehouses and trade. That so few names can be identified is likely to have been a product of the preconceptions and awareness of those engaged in the recording process, rather than reflecting the actual streetscape.



Figure 4.4 – Tenements for which a non-personal name is recorded (including taverns etc).

Topography and Value

The size of an individual property in an urban setting was (and still is) generally inversely related to its value per square metre. Its value is directly related to its ease of access to the primary commercial opportunities provided by the city. Unfortunately the deeds and other property sources are usually lacking in valuations, either for capital value, or indeed for rental value, although the latter is relatively more common (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3 – Number of recorded property values amongst deeds [all deeds, all parishes].

Type of Valuation	Number
Sale Price (Cash)	6
Annual Rent	60
Other	2
Total	68

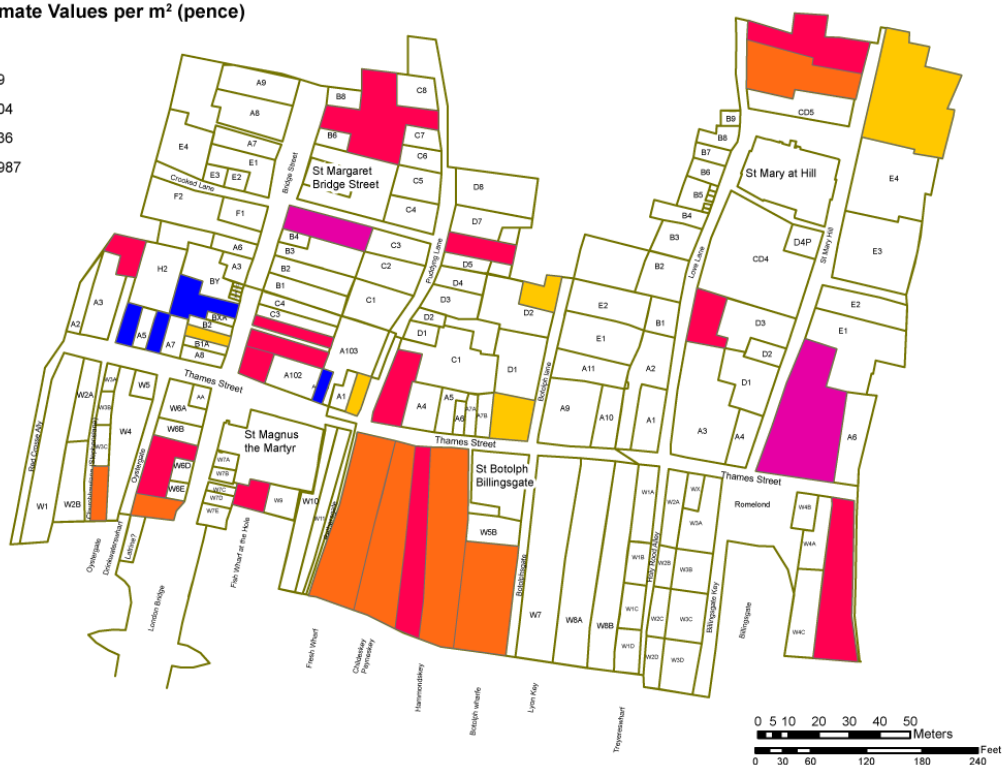
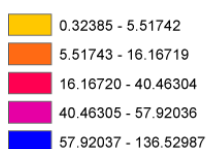
In his work on Cheapside and Winchester, Derek Keene calculated that, as a rough average, pre-modern freehold property values were ten times their annual rental value. Based these more commonly occurring rental values, he calculated per square metre values for Cheapside of 21-34d/m² in 1304, with a 'typical' property valued at 20.8d/m² in 1419: a value seven times higher than its equivalent in Winchester.³⁷

Accepting this 'rule of thumb', it has been possible to 'normalise' many of the rental and capital values provided in the available records for the Bridgehead area. Combining the resultant information with the recorded and conjectural property dimensions (developed by topographical reconstruction), approximate values per square metre have been calculated. These generally mirror Keene's figures for Cheapside, with the greatest number of values being the in range 16d/m² to 40d/m² (Figure 4.5). However, the number of properties for which this is possible is extremely limited, and statistical analysis on this sample would be impossible. While data is drawn from throughout the fifteenth century, rental accounts from the area show most rents remaining relatively constant throughout the century.³⁸ However, unusually high (£136/m²) and low (0.32d/m²) figures reveal problems with this methodology: in many cases deeds lack the detail to indicate what portion of a tenement they might refer to, especially in cases where identification has only been possible by reference to known owners. Meanwhile, any calculation is inevitably biased by lack of knowledge of net floor-space, rather than gross footprint, of the buildings: Treswell confirms, for example, that shops around Bridge Street, while tiny in footprint, could extend up to five storeys in height, accounting for the unusually high figures in this area – values should thus be divided by the (unknown) number of stories to give a net value per m².

³⁷ Keene, "The Property Market in English Towns, Ad 1100-1600," 213, 205.

³⁸ LMA CLA/007/FN/02/004; Harding and Wright, *London Bridge Selected Accounts*.

Calculated Approximate Values per m² (pence)



Map Revision: 15/07/2009

Figure 4.5 – Known and estimated (based upon 10x annual rent) values, 1400-1500, based upon evidence in Husting Deeds, expressed relative to tenement footprint in square metres (pence/m²).

Accepting the relationship between value and property area as a reasonable indicator, Figure 4.1 highlights extremely clear patterns relating to the size of tenements. Those located closest to the primary thoroughfares are consistently smaller than those on the smaller lanes and alleys within the neighbourhood. Furthermore, those closest to the primary nodes, the bridge, the churches and Billingsgate, are also noticeably smaller than those located on the same thoroughfares, but further away. Tenements on Thames Street within Bridge ward were only on average only 58% of the footprint of those of the area as a whole whereas those within Billingsgate ward were 127% of that overall average (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 – Inferred tenement areas calculated from map reconstruction.

Location	Average Area (m2)	% Overall Average
Bridge Street	127.4	59.0
Thames Street	210.4	97.4
Thames Street (Bridge)	126.3	58.5
Thames Street (Billingsgate)	276.2	127.9
Pudding Lane	168.1	77.8
Botolph Lane	268.7	124.4
St Mary at Hill Lane	462.9	214.3
Overall Average	216	-

Comparing the map of property sizes, with the assumption that greatest subdivision reflected greatest demand for property, and hence market prices, the correlation between ‘centrality’ and value is confirmed. Figure 4.6 shows the tenement size map overlaid with a basic Space Syntax topological choice analysis. It is immediately clear that properties facing the ‘most connected’ street frontages (shown in red, yellow or bright green) are subdivided to a much greater extent than are those facing relatively isolated frontages (shown in aqua and blue). This may appear obvious, but it represents a clear positive correlation, demonstrating that location, or the accessibility of location, was the primary driver of property desirability and values. This is of particular significance for following discussion of locations of property ownership by members of crafts.



Figure 4.6 – Tenement size (m²) displayed with basic Space Syntax analysis.

Naturally this approach has problems: for one, the fact the topographical reconstruction of the map on which it is based is often dependent on inference, meaning that many of the sizes calculated are not totally accurate. Furthermore, many subdivisions of tenements are included where they are documented, but it is often impossible to tell whether they subsequently endured, or reverted back into larger holdings. Likewise undocumented sub-divisions cannot be included. Nonetheless, it is accepted by many authorities that sub-division of properties had slowed and forms adopted by the 1420s were generally consistent until the 1550s.³⁹

This data can be taken as proof of the relationship between topography and property form, and therefore almost certainly a reflection of value, on a micro-scale. Differences within distances of less

³⁹ Keene, “The Property Market in English Towns, Ad 1100-1600,” 215.

than 200m were pronounced. The eastern section of Thames Street within the parish of St Mary at Hill, together with the lanes leading north, were dominated by relatively large tenement units following a regular grid layout. Meanwhile, those on Bridge Street and its environs were much smaller and less regular, echoing the pressures of an active property market. This reflects more widely on the natures of these two ends of the 'neighbourhood': the area around Bridge Street representing a dense and bustling commercial area dominated by victuallers. Meanwhile the area only a few hundred metres to the east, around the church of St Mary appears to have been relatively quieter, featuring a large proportion of craft and wholesaling businesses and large residential properties.

4.3 Patterns in Property Ownership

Analysis of deeds allows analysis of the patterns of involvement in property ownership in the neighbourhood. Unfortunately enfeoffment to use and other obfuscatory financial arrangements enacted around property often makes it impossible to definitively determine who actually occupied individual properties at any one time. What is possible, however, is to examine the *involvement* of individuals in the properties, as grantors, grantees, feoffees, testators or heirs: that is to say that the property legally ‘passed through their hands’. This section therefore analyses spatial patterns in properties to which members of various groups were connected to as buyer, seller, or feoffee of a property.



Figure 4.7 – Tenements traded by members of the Fishmongers’ Company [all maps in this section collated from all fifteenth century deeds]

Summary maps such as Figure 4.7, include all transactions involving the transfer of ownership of tenements by Fishmongers, and thus naturally contain ‘false positives’ as a result of the lack of distinction drawn between owners and feoffees as legal instruments or lenders. Furthermore, individual properties are necessarily duplicated between graphics for the various crafts, depicting as they do, where Company members had a claim to ownership at any point in the century. Examining only those tenements granted by members of a craft (Figure 4.8) might be regarded as more representative in terms of considering definitive ownership, as opposed to less permanent financial involvement, but this criterion also excludes many cases where a tenement history is

incomplete and owners are not always found both buying the property and subsequently as vendors by virtue of the lack of enrolment. Given the issues regarding ownership of property, and the tendency for private property investors to remain within their immediate local environment (see below), it remains useful to discuss general involvement in property, rather than attempting to use the materials available in this study to precisely determine ownership.



Table 4.5 – Occupations of parties to property transactions as grantors or grantees

Number of Transactions	Occupation
997	Unknown
267	Fishmonger
180	Stockfishmonger
161	Grocer
122	Clerk
86	Chaplain
85	Mercer
74	Ironmonger
67	Widow
56	Rector
54	Vintner
54	Draper
31	Goldsmith
30	Alderman (Unspecified Craft)
22	Knight
18	Brewer
13	Saddler
13	Haberdasher
13	Skinner
13	Tailor

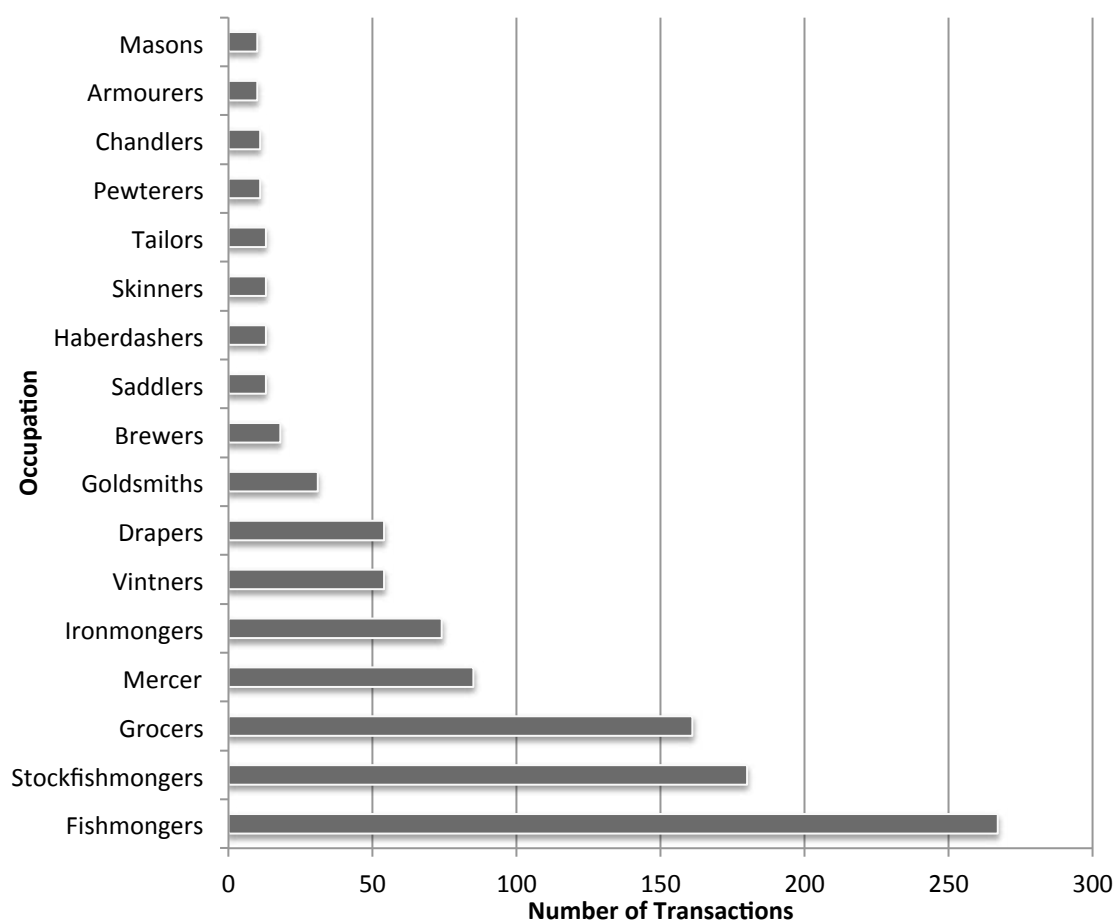


Figure 4.9 – Instances of involvement by members of crafts in the property market (n=1018)

Figure 4.9 summarises the cumulative activity of members of craft members in property transactions. Broadly speaking, this follows established trends that might be expected, considering the precedence and affluence of London's Companies. All of those crafts whose members are represented in thirty or more transactions count amongst the twelve Great Livery Companies (considering the Stockfishmongers conjointly with the Fishmongers). Which of those twelve Companies, and their relative prominence, is significant: why, for example, are the Drapers, Goldsmiths and even Mercers relatively scarce in comparison with Fishmongers and Grocers? Discussion of the physical and topographical attributes of the neighbourhood makes this pattern self-explanatory: crafts for which a commercial benefit was to be had by location close to their supplies, or markets, are those which dominate within the neighbourhood. This is addressed in greater depth in Chapter 5.



Figure 4.10 – Property traded by Stockfishmongers

Patterns in the property activity of Stockfishmongers are concentrated around the same areas as the Fishmongers (Figure 4.10). Members of both crafts concentrated their attentions toward the riverfront, where Fresh Wharf, directly in front of St Magnus's church was a landing place for fish, and Bridge Street, a market for it. This provides an interesting case, for those tenements which had adjoining wharves, and were owned by Fishmongers, simultaneously qualified as a place of retail by the resident members of the Fishmongers' Company in terms of their rights as citizens, but also as a wharf and therefore a place where fish could only be traded wholesale. This was the cause of a running legal battle in the early fourteenth century, which saw the Company accuse those

Fishmongers living at Fish Wharf of effectively forestalling by selling fish that would have otherwise gone to market at the appointed times, after mass at St Magnus, and thus forcing up the prices at market. The outcome of this particular case affirmed the right of citizens to sell by retail in their houses, and thus the special attraction of property in this area for Fishmongers.⁴⁰ Effectively, the concentration of fishmongers, and indeed of Stockfishmongers, around this market, shown by their dominance of property transactions in both the riverside and in Bridge Street, amounted to a 'trade quarter'. This particular subject is considered in greater depth in Chapter 5.

The third most common Company members were Grocers (Figure 4.11) who display a discernable preference for properties with waterside access, and proximity to Billingsgate, as well as a tendency to appear in the same locations as Ironmongers. The fourth most frequent Company were Mercers (Figure 4.12). Their prominence in the property market can be ascribed to their general prosperity, for they do not exhibit any specific relationship with the area, and as shown in Chapter 5, were seldom residents. The pattern to their involvement reflects the desirability and investment potential of the high status locations with which they were associated.

The fifth most common Company, the Ironmongers (Figure 4.13), show a distinct clustering toward the east at Billingsgate. Much like the noted congregation of Fishmongers around Fresh Wharf and Bridge Street, this behaviour amongst Ironmongers is a direct response to market facilities and practicalities of their trade. Billingsgate was a regulated landing place for imports of iron, which meant that maintaining an interest in property nearby was a sensible proposition for Ironmongers, in terms of practicality of accessing their materials, and also in relation to the noted tendency to invest in properties near to their work. There appears to have been a tendency for Ironmongers to apprentice their children members of the Grocers' Company – a logical path for 'trading up' in the precedence of Livery Companies – also reflecting local relationships. In the neighbourhood where Ironmongers were the dominant medium-ranking company, and the Grocers the most common of the most prestigious companies, this was naturally reflected in choices likely to have influenced on a more social basis.

Further crafts with notable concentrations of activity in the Bridgehead property market included the Vintners and the Drapers (Figure 4.14, Figure 4.15, respectively) display similar trends of concentration toward Billingsgate. The Drapers, perhaps reflecting the nature of their business in bulk fabrics, appear to have displayed a preference for waterside properties, but their distribution along Thames Street was random. By contrast, the Vintners show a discernable concentration around a particular area, between Botolph Wharf and Billingsgate. While the main concentration of Vintners in the City of London was in the western area around St Martin Vintry simply known as

⁴⁰ *Liber Custumarum*, 393-404.

the Vintry, this eastern concentration can perhaps be seen as a further example of the east-west duplication of victualling trades. Tenement SBB W4 was donated in the 1429 will of Thomas Crofton to the Vintners' Company.⁴¹ This particular property is one of very few late medieval buildings excavated in the Museum of London excavations during the 1970s and '80s; evidence from which confirms that the tenement was used by vintners for warehousing, containing racking designed around wine barrel sizes at basement level.⁴² This tenement conceivably represented the heart of a small concentration of vintners' activity, providing a nucleus of local knowledge for members of that company who were active at Billingsgate.



Figure 4.11 – Property traded by Grocers

⁴¹ GL MS 15,364 ff.32-34

⁴² Schofield, "New Fresh Wharf," 70.


Legend
 Mercers



Figure 4.12 – Property traded by Mercers

 Ironmongers



Figure 4.13 – Property traded by Ironmongers

Vintners



Map Revision: 26/05/2009

Figure 4.14 – Property traded by Vintners

Legend

Drapers



Map Revision: 15/07/2009

Figure 4.15 – Property traded by Drapers

The concentration of activity of the Fishmongers, and indeed of the Grocers and Ironmongers in the neighbourhood, can only be seen as the result of the cumulative action of countless Londoners

acting on economic expedients: agglomeration benefit in practice. As outlined in Chapter 3, the topography of the Bridgehead favoured certain crafts: Fishmongers benefited from both ease of access to the river, and access to one of their primary markets, while other trades, especially the Grocers, dealing ‘in gross’ and the Ironmongers with their bulky goods, took advantage of access to Billingsgate. These patterns are far from universal, and as discussed in Chapter 5, the integrity of the ‘trade quarter’ declined markedly as the century progressed. Furthermore, Mercers, for example, were virtually absent as residents within the neighbourhood – their presence amongst the property transactions should rather be seen as evidence of investment in a buoyant property market.

4.4 Institutional Property Ownership

The number of tenements in the ownership of institutional bodies, primarily the churches and monasteries, and Companies, was large, and growing, in the fifteenth century. Analysis of the lands known to be in institutional ownership by the early sixteenth century shows this was a relatively constant process; similar numbers of tenements were donated to or purchased by institutional bodies in the early and late fifteenth centuries, adding to an existing large stock dating from the fourteenth century. While this highlights widespread evasion of mortmain legislation, pointing to an enduring popularity of donation to these bodies, it also hides some significant patterns.

Legend

- Institutional post-1500
- Institutional 1450-1500
- Institutional 1400-1450
- Institutional pre-1400



Figure 4.16 – Tenements in institutional hands prior to the Chantry Certificates, cumulatively in fifty-year periods.

Some common assumptions regarding institutional land ownership in medieval towns did not hold true in the Bridgehead. London Bridge, despite being feted as a major landowner in the City, owned only two properties in this area, its immediate northern neighbourhood (Figure 4.17). One of these, SMM W3D, was a wharf and tenement donated by Richard Malt, a Stockfishmonger and feoffee of the church of St Magnus, in his will of May 1455.⁴³ While this donation was known as ‘Malteswharf’ in the Bridge House rental for 1462, the first year that it appears, Malt himself had been, as his widow went on to be until 1477, tenant of the Bridge’s other tenement in the parish of

⁴³ HR 184(10); 163(66).

St Magnus.⁴⁴ This other property had been acquired during the fourteenth century. The Bridge House was also associated with property SMM A101, the corner house opposite the church of St Magnus, by way of a further fourteenth century bequest, but this interest appears to have lapsed by the fifteenth century when only two rents were collected in the parish of St Magnus.⁴⁵

The bequests of John Reynewell (Rainwell), a Fishmonger who died in 1445 are somewhat unusual. Although he was a sheriff from 1411, and Alderman for Aldersgate ward in 1416, Bread Street in 1426 and finally Billingsgate ward in 1432, his will does not survive. Nonetheless, an executors report is enrolled in Husting detailing the arrangements of his bequest of a range of riverside properties to the city itself.⁴⁶ In addition to certain sections of the properties to the west of Billingsgate, on either side of Holyrood Lane, this bequest also included Botolph's Wharf, and a quitrent from the stone house at its head which was by then the rectory. While this donation supported an obit at the church of St Botolph, its prime beneficiary was:

An annual sum of eight pounds, in order to exempt poor denizens (not foreigners) from payment of toll for goods and merchandise at the great gate of London Bridge, and at the bridge called "le drawbridge," provided always that the said citizens so entering the City and making purchases there shall not leave the same without licence of the freemen.

This is an exceptional bequest, mentioned by Stow in his list of 'worthies' and not paralleled by any other examples within the study. These were the only properties within the neighbourhood directly owned by the city itself.

⁴⁴ LMA CLA/007/FN/02/003 f.44.

⁴⁵ LMA CLA/007/EM/04/003/A ff.63d-86; CLA/007/FN/02/001 f.10.

⁴⁶ HR 207(31); Alfred Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London Temp. Henry III.-1908* (London: E. Fisher, 1913), 5.

Legend



Figure 4.17 – Properties of the Guildhall and London Bridge House.

If London Bridge was a surprisingly minor player in the Bridgehead property market, the same was true of monastic institutions. The most obvious monastic property in the neighbourhood was the inn of the Abbot of Waltham, which had been purchased in the thirteenth century; while this large tenement was a private inn, sections along the St Mary Hill frontage were let out on the open market.⁴⁷ The only other notable monastic property owner was Holy Trinity Priory, which received Lyon Key in the parish of St Botolph in 1483 in the will of John Bamme.⁴⁸ Holy Trinity's other properties included a section of the wharf at the western side of Billingsgate in St Mary at Hill, donated by Thomas Duffhous in 1400 and a share in SMH E1, donated by Isabel Burgh in 1399 as executor for her husband Thomas.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Gadd, "The London inn of the abbots of Waltham," 173; Marjorie B. Honeybourne, "The Extent and Value of the Property in London and Southwark Occupied by the Religious Houses (including the Prebends of St Paul's and St Martin's Le Grand), the Inns of the Bishops and Abbots and the Churches and Churchyards, Before the Dissolution of the Monasteries." (unpublished MA Thesis, University of London, 1929).

⁴⁸ TNA E40/9806.

⁴⁹ HR129(2); TNA E42/294.

All other cases of ownership of property by monastic institutions were solitary examples. The Convent of St Helen Bishopsgate was donated property SMH CD5, immediately north of St Mary at Hill's churchyard, as early as 1353 by John de Causton.⁵⁰ Meanwhile property SBB D3 was already in the hands of the Charterhouse by 1374, as was one of the small shops at the corner of Bridge Street and Thames Street in St Magnus, SMM A101A.⁵¹ St Mary Graces was more successful in the fifteenth century, receiving SMH B9 in 1417 from Robert Denny, the son of a Fishmonger, and a lease on the shop owned by the Charterhouse, donated by Peter Exton, Fishmonger, in 1424.⁵²

Bequests to collegiate institutions are scarcer still, yet the two instances are of interest. The property at the corner of Botolph Lane, SBB A8, was left in the 1418 will of William Neel, vintner and citizen of Chichester, to the Hospital of St Thomas, Southwark. However, within a year his executors were instead selling off the property on the open market 'as speedily as possible after the testators death' in order to spend the money on generic 'pious purposes'. Evidently the hospital was not interested in the bequest of land without a mortmain license with demands for perpetual commemoration, or perhaps his estate was insufficient to meet other bequests.⁵³ Perhaps most unusual is the bequest of the large tenement SMH A5, which faced Billingsgate, to an almshouse in Pontefract, Yorkshire, by its founder, Sir Robert Knolles, who was also a London citizen and likely to have been a grocer.⁵⁴ Figure 4.18 illustrates that even the cumulative total of monastic and collegiate owned properties, while not insignificant, was little greater than the City or London Bridge, and much smaller than that of parish churches.

⁵⁰ HR 81(71).

⁵¹ HR 102(119).

⁵² HR 145(18); TNA E326/12213.

⁵³ HR 149(45); 146(46).

⁵⁴ HR 135(88).



Figure 4.18 – Tenements owned by Monastic or Collegiate institutions.

Property ownership by Companies was also relatively limited. As might be expected, those Companies which did own local property reflect those whose members were also frequently active in the local property market themselves, for the primary means by which institutional bodies came to hold land was by bequest. Thus the Fishmongers' Company held four properties in the Bridgehead by the early sixteenth century, while the Grocers, Mercers, Vintners and Goldsmiths each possessed a single tenement or shop. As discussed, the Vintners gained their wharf-side property in 1439 in of the will of Geoffrey Dalling, while the Goldsmiths were given their shop on Bridge Street in the 1405 will of John Carbonell. Likewise the Grocers gained their Botolph Lane tenement from Stephen Broun in 1466 and the Mercers theirs in 1514 from the son of Henry Colet.⁵⁵

The Fishmongers lands were acquired on a piecemeal basis across the fifteenth century. The first properties within the neighbourhood were bequeathed to them in 1443 when the neighbouring plots of SMH E2 and E3, which appear to have formed a 'great tenement' complete with stables and outbuildings, were donated by Thomas Chynnore to 'the wardens of the art of mistery of the Fishmongers of London and to their successors and assigns to the use of the whole commonality of

⁵⁵ GL MS 15364 ff.32-34; HR 133(44); GL MS 11616; HR 241(32)

the same'.⁵⁶ In 1447 William West left tenement SMM C4 conjointly to the Fishmongers and the parish of St Margaret Bridge Street, conditionally on his lack of heirs; unfortunately for these institutions, his daughter Joan appears to have retained the property and sold it in 1468.⁵⁷ The next property to come into the hands of the Fishmongers was in 1505, in the form of the Star Inn, which had quite possibly already functioned as kind of hall for the local Fishmongers.⁵⁸ The property passed to the Company from Reginald Peckham, Richard Broke, John Fane and Alexander Culpepper, gentlemen of Kent, evidently as part of the testamentary arrangements of Thomas Kneseworth, Fishmonger.⁵⁹ Kneseworth's will of 1513 also contained a bequest of property SMM BYA, a small shop on Bridge Street. Unlike some earlier donations to the Livery Companies, this bequest employed the Company as a feoffee, calling upon their members to arrange 'two solemn obits or anniversaries by note to be kept in the chapel of Our Lady at Guildhall of London'. Also required were prayers from 13 poor persons who would be paid 8d weekly, payments for four scholars at Cambridge or Oxford of £4 annually, and an annual donation of £4 to the Convent of Roseston in Hertfordshire.⁶⁰

Notably, all these bequests occurred within the fifteenth century and the opening decades of the sixteenth, with not a single property having been in company hands prior to 1400. This stands in marked contrast to the lack of fifteenth century bequests to the monastic institutions. The number of donations to companies also continued to grow into the sixteenth century: for example, although outside the range of this study, Marowe's Key, to the east of Billingsgate (SMH W5) was to enter the hands of the Cordwainers' Company later in the sixteenth century, thus preserving in its cartulary many earlier deeds relating to this property.⁶¹ These Companies gained new charters within the fifteenth century, allowing this increased landholding.⁶²

⁵⁶ HR 188(12).

⁵⁷ HR 193(33); 197(26).

⁵⁸ BL Harley 541 f.225v; Priscilla Metcalf, *The Halls of the Fishmongers' Company: An Architectural History of a Riverside Site*. (Chichester: Phillimore, 1973), 12.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 16.; GL MS 6696/1, GL MS 6696/2/11; GL MS9277.

⁶⁰ HR 237(12).

⁶¹ GL MS 14318, f.6.

⁶² e.g. the Mercers gained their first full incorporation in 1394, and the Grocers in 1429: Anne F. Sutton, *The Mercery of London* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 121; Pamela Nightingale, *A Medieval Mercantile Community* (New Haven (CT) and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 425.

Legend

- Vintners' Company
- Grocers' Company
- Mercers' Company
- Goldsmiths' Company
- Fishmongers' Company



Figure 4.19 – Corporate properties of London Livery Companies

Legend

- St Magnus the Martyr
- St Botolph Billingsgate
- St Mary at Hill
- St Margaret Bridge Street



Figure 4.20 – Property of parish churches within the Bridgehead

If the holdings of the corporate bodies of the city – the Companies, the Bridge and the monastic institutions – were relatively small, the lands owned by parish churches were extensive. The parish of St Magnus the Martyr owned no fewer than fifteen properties within the area, with all but one of these being located within the parish itself. St Mary at Hill came to own eight properties by the early sixteenth century within its parish boundaries, in addition to others throughout the city (detailed in its rental accounts). Meanwhile the smaller parishes of St Botolph Billingsgate and St Margaret Bridge Street owned seven identifiable properties within the immediate area each (although St Margaret's was evidently unable to assume ownership of SMM C4, see above). Again these local properties were almost always located within the parish boundaries of the parish in question.

St Mary at Hill was not atypical in possessing properties outside of the neighbourhood. Other parishes within the study also owned some tenements widely spread throughout the city as part of chantry foundations, as discussed below in Chapter 6. As the vast majority of parish lands were donations by parishioners, usually with the aim of establishing chantries, it is entirely logical that they would be more likely to be located nearby, but also have comprised property investments elsewhere in the City. In an age not so much characterised by property development and speculation, as by the use of property investments as a supplement or back-up for craft or mercantile activities, most properties would be local to its owners, or otherwise likely to have been well known to them or connected with their trade activities. Thus local properties would naturally have been more common when it came to donating lands to parochial authorities to establish post-obit arrangements.

Properties within the neighbourhood of the Bridgehead that came to be owned by parish churches located outside of the sample area display similar trends (Figure 4.21). The neighbouring parish St Dunstan in the East and nearby St Michael Cornhill owned the tenements in the parish of St Mary at Hill. St Leonard Eastcheap owned the tenement in the parish of St Botolph Billingsgate, and a single property in St Magnus the Martyr was owned by the parish of St Michael Crooked Lane, its western neighbour. Even where a property was owned by a parish which was not adjacent, it was in all cases nearby in the eastern half of the city: St Leonard Eastcheap was located just north of St Margaret's. SMH A1, for example, was a bequest in the will of Roger Kelsey, Draper, proved in 1458. As a resident of St Peter Cornhill he requested burial in that church, but bequeathed that church land located directly opposite Billingsgate, which he undoubtedly gained an interest in by connection with his trade.⁶³ Again, topography exerted a direct influence upon the behaviour of Londoners.

⁶³ HR 186(29).

Legend

- St Dunstan in the East
- St Michael Cornhill
- St Michael Crooked Lane
- St Leonard Eastcheap



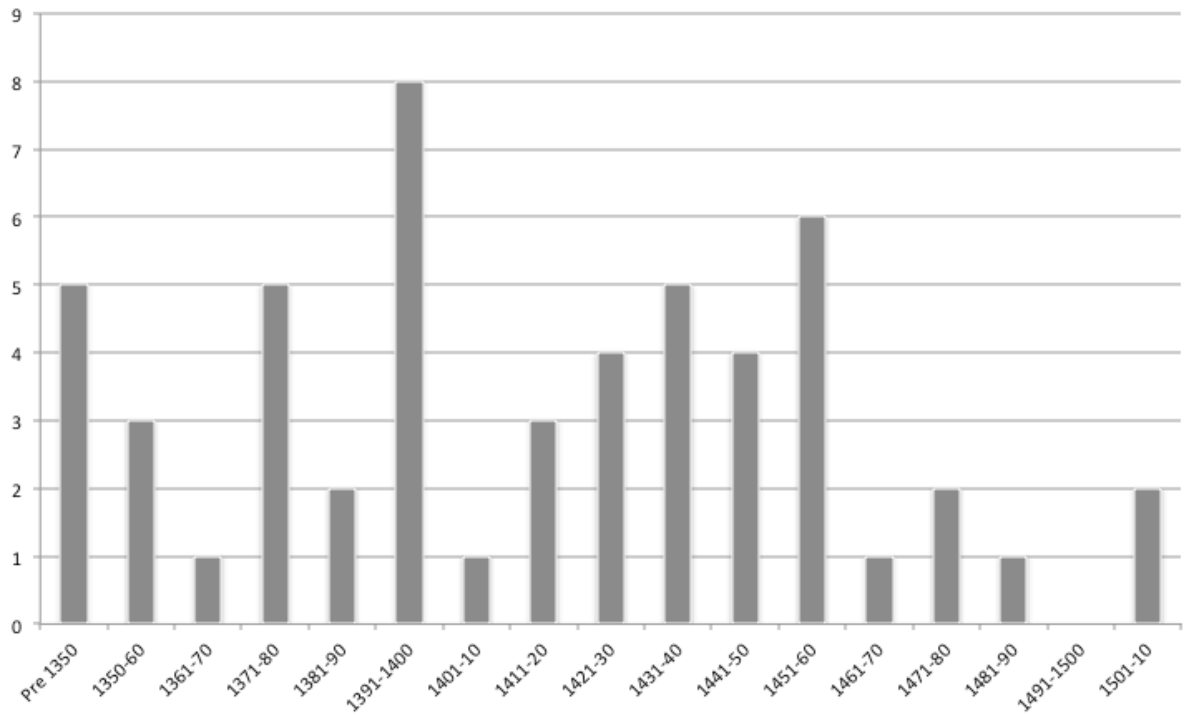


Figure 4.22 – Tenements entering ownership of all parish churches, by decade.

Considering the cumulative total of land owned by ecclesiastical authorities, monastic or regular, local and distant, it is clear that this was a sizable proportion of all the land within the Bridgehead. From a total of 170 tenement and shop units identified in this study no fewer than thirty-eight (22%) came into the hands of various parish churches by the first few decades of the sixteenth century and a further eleven (6.5%) were owned by monastic and collegiate institutions (Figure 4.23). In total ecclesiastical bodies owned forty-nine of 170 property units: 29% of the total real estate in the neighbourhood. The total institutional land holding, including both secular and religious institutions, totalled sixty-seven of the 170 properties (39%). Ecclesiastical holdings therefore comprised 73% of institutionally owned properties.



Figure 4.23 – All lands owned by ecclesiastical bodies by the early sixteenth century.

The institutional, and especially ecclesiastical, dominance of the local property market in this, one of the more prosperous and valuable corners of London, is highly significant. The trend of gradual accumulation of parochial lands, far outstripping the estates of the Companies and monastic bodies, was also typical of other areas of London that have been studied, such as Cheapside.⁶⁴ On one level this meant that a large and increasing number of Londoners would have been tenants of ecclesiastical or other institutional bodies at the end of the fifteenth century and, by implication, the available stock of properties within the city for private investment, and indeed establishment of further perpetual arrangements, was constantly declining. While this would have been unlikely to have influenced the prices on the rental market – the same number of properties were practically available for occupation – logically this cumulative process must have increased the relative value of ‘freehold’ land through its increasing scarcity. Such widespread evasion or circumvention of the statute of Mortmain was creating exactly the situation that Edward I sought to prevent: large sections of land were isolated from the market, unavailable for either taxation or investment.

⁶⁴ Derek Keene, "A New Study of London Before the Great Fire," *Urban History Yearbook* (1984): 16.

4.5 Leasing and Renting

Considering the complex web of ownership associated with property in the neighbourhood around London Bridge, it is reasonable to conclude that the majority of properties were not owner-occupied, but leased to their occupiers. Baer has recently estimated that three quarters of London households in the early modern period were tenant occupants.⁶⁵ Little information survives regarding the great majority of leases of London property, as details of property transactions were only entered into the public record when their contents were likely to have been challengeable. Rental agreements were generally of terms of no longer than a 'lifetime', and in practice more frequently subject to change, thus were seldom deemed worthy of public enrolment. Essentially, as long as rent was paid, it did not really matter who paid it; it did, however, matter whom it was paid to, hence the relative comprehensiveness of details of seisin. An example of the importance of this is provided by the accusations against Henry Pountfreit, a saddler, by a tenant of a property which he formerly owned, John Sadiller, a vintner, in the Mayor's Court in 1417. Although it is not specified which property the case relates to, Henry was in receipt of the feoffment of property SBB W3, next door to SBB W4 which was in the hands of vintners throughout the fifteenth century before being donated to the Company itself, in a deed of 1405, so it is likely that this may be the address in question. Sadiller was a tenant of John Findern and John Lever, who had bought the property from Pountfreit, however Findern and Lever had re-conveyed the house to Pountfreit (this most likely representing a financing feoffment), but evidently neglected to inform Sadiller. Rather than demanding the rent, Pountfreit entered the property by force with an armed gang, causing Saddiler's wife to miscarry. The court found in favour of Saddiler, who claimed to be willing to pay the rent if asked, as 'forcible entries of this kind would be an injustice to the public, since the portals of the law were wide open to all who needed it'.⁶⁶ While an extreme case, this shows the potential complexity of leasehold in London, but also its relative casualness.

Transactions regarding leases and rental agreements which do survive in Husting generally occurred where a lease was especially long, perhaps fifty years, or a lifetime; or where exceptional arrangements were in place – like a tenant paying a lower rate for a term of years in return for rebuilding or expanding a property, or if nominal payments were asked of a specific individual for honorific purposes. For example, in 1402 Henry Julyan, Ironmonger, took a lease on Culverkey (SMH W5) for 60 years, paying 20 marks per annum in four parts, a relatively low amount, and if he was to remain in tenancy after that (which would seem unlikely unless he were very young!), he

⁶⁵ William C. Baer, "Landlords and Tenants in London, 1550–1700," *Urban History* 38, no. 2 (2011): 234–255.

⁶⁶ HR 133(95), 140(18); *CalPMR*, 1413–37, p.56–8.

would pay £40 per year. This agreement is explained by the requirement for the tenant not only to maintain the property, but to *wharvum dicit tenementi de novo construi facient*.⁶⁷ Thus the landlord was divesting himself of the responsibility to rebuild the wharf, instead accepting a lower rent in order for the tenant to undertake the work. Once the agreed time for which the lower rent would be charged in order to compensate for the works was complete, the rent would increase.

Symbolic or ‘rose’ rents – the charge of only nominal rents for honorific or other purposes – provide some instructive cases. These could be simple, as in the case of the lease of property SMH C2 to Robert Howtyng, Fishmonger, in 1504. This lease was for a term of 40 years, a long period typical of the relatively stable property market of the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and was charged at a rate of £4 per annum. However Robert had clearly paid six years worth of rent in advance, perhaps as a kind of deposit, and so for the first six years he had only to pay ‘yearly at Midsummer a red rose, if it be asked’.⁶⁸ This form of lease could also be employed for honorific purposes: for example mentioned in a deed of 1434 was an agreement under the will of Edmund Bys for his wife to occupy his property (SMM A5) for her lifetime at the rent of ‘one rose at midsummer if it is sought’ while bequeathing the reversion and ownership of the property to others.⁶⁹ There are, however, only a handful of such transactions recorded amongst the Husting Deeds. The practice could have been considerably more widespread than this would indicate, for these were precisely the kind of transactions that would not often have been deemed necessary to enrol.

Private landlords still provided the majority of the rental stock of London in the fifteenth, and even sixteenth centuries (and certainly post-reformation), in contrast to some towns like Oxford and Cambridge where up-to 75% of land was owned by institutions such as the universities and colleges.⁷⁰ A survey of 1412 shows that 67% of 858 assessed citizen landlords in the city owned rental property worth less than £5, and only 1% owned more than £500.⁷¹ However, Keene’s analysis of these statistics reveals that the properties of these artisanal or mercantile landlords tended to be of ‘higher value individually and to be located in commercial districts, generally in the vicinity

⁶⁷ GL MS 14318, f.4r.

⁶⁸ HR 230(7).

⁶⁹ HR 163(30).

⁷⁰ Derek Keene, “Landlords, the Property Market and Urban Development in Medieval England,” in *Power, Profit and Urban Land*, ed. F. E. Eliassen and G. A. Ersland (Aldershot, Hants.: Scolar, 1996), 103.

⁷¹ J. C. L. Stahlschmidt, “London Lay Subsidy Roll, 1411-12.,” *Archaeological Journal* 44 (1887); Sylvia Lettice Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London, 1300-1500* (Chicago, IL; London, 1948), 125.

of the dwelling place or place of business of the owner, who could thus exercise a close supervision over them'.⁷² The largest estates were found in the hands of widows, minors, or the elderly, further suggesting that rental incomes were seen as an alternative to mercantile or industrial earnings, rather than a preferred means of subsistence, and importantly posed an expedient opportunity within the life-cycle. Keene summarises:

Individual property holders in English towns used their holdings in much the same way as today we use bank accounts, insurance policies, or stocks and shares. Rents and houses were a convenient way of employing capital not immediately required for trade. ... As old age approached, or if illness struck, property which was no longer needed as domestic or business accommodation could be exchanged for cash, for income, or for a regular allowance of food, drink and clothing.⁷³

While the majority of property was leased by the private sector, a very large proportion of rents were paid to institutional authorities, given the proportion of land that they held. Fortunately many of these institutions have surviving rental accounts, and these permit examination of trends in rental values throughout the period for known locations. However, the lands which ended up in the hands of institutional bodies were often disparate, fragmentary and sometimes of relatively low value. For example, Figure 4.16 shows a relative absence of institutionally owned properties on Bridge Street, the prime retail space of the neighbourhood. Examination of the lands of the parish of St Mary at Hill, enumerated in the churchwardens' accounts at certain points in the fifteenth century, shows more tenements and chambers, even gardens, outside of the parish than within it, and indeed many in distant locations including St Botolph Aldgate and St Leonard Foster Lane. Furthermore, many of these rents were very small – some as low as two or three shillings – and as been noted in other studies of similar data, virtually no increase in value year to year (see Appendix 2). The nature of these institutional portfolios is clearly explained by their formation as piecemeal donations over an extended period of time.

Fortunately, other institutions with interests in the Bridgehead have fuller and more coherent rental records. The Bridge House preserves a full series of account books, including rental incomes from the 1420s into the modern period, yet while the Bridge had a large property portfolio, as discussed above it had relatively little property in the Bridgehead. The only tenements owned by the Bridge within the study area are the two properties in the southwest corner of the parish of St Magnus, although it did have quit-rent interests in others. These two properties are, however, covered fully in the Bridge House rentals, allowing some examination of the local rental market. The rental history of these properties is primarily a story of continuity, both in terms of tenants and actual rents. While the form of rentals changes several times throughout the fifteenth century, it remains possible

⁷² Keene, "Landlords, the Property Market and Urban Development in Medieval England," 104.

⁷³ Keene, "The Property Market in English Towns, Ad 1100-1600," 221.

to trace the values and occupation of these properties. The lower valued of the two properties, likely to be SMM W6C is, for example, in the tenancy of Richard Malt, Fishmonger, from prior to 1460, his widow Johanna until 1477 and then Edmund Newman, Fishmonger until his death between 1496 and 1502.⁷⁴ Thereafter his widow 'Mistress Newman' remains in occupation until at least 1505. Throughout this time his rent was static at £4 6s 8d.

The Bridge's other tenement in the parish of St Magnus was much less stable in terms of its rental income. Malteswharf, bequeathed in 1455 by the same Richard Malt who was tenant of the other property, was usually let as multiple separate units. These appear to have usually taken the form of two 'tenements', between one and four 'watrynghouses' or '*domo bassa*' which appear to have been alternately referred to as '*camere*' or chambers. Together these drew an income roughly similar to the other property, at just over £4 per year, until in 1476 Richard Arnold, Haberdasher and author of Arnold's Chronicle, appears as tenant of a *tenemento novo edificatus* at a rent of 53s 4d, evidently replacing the property previously rented at 23s 4d.⁷⁵ From 1482, Robert Bartelot, Fishmonger, appeared as tenant of the whole wharf paying a slightly reduced rent of £7 8s 4d, although in 1499 the rent was increased by 16s 4d.⁷⁶ By 1502 Bartelot had moved on and the Bridge House had again subdivided this property. Four tenants paid 10s, three paid 20s, 'Mistress Newman' (widow of Edmund, see above), paid 18s, and Robert Fayrefax paid 46s 8d: in total exactly the same as Bartelot was paying.⁷⁷ It is conceivable that it had not been possible to let out the property as a whole, thus necessitating forming rental agreements with so many small tenants in sub-divisions of the property. Yet it would seem more likely that Bartelot had already sub-divided and sub-let portions of his property, and these new tenants of the Bridge might have been established occupants of the property. Certainly, as the rent received by the Bridge did not increase as a result of this sub-division, it cannot have represented an attempt to increase revenue by accruing more, smaller, tenants. By 1505, the final year examined here, Mistress Newman was still paying £4 6s 8d, but two of those tenants paying 10s three years before now paid 13s 4d, and even by 1537 those sections of the property formerly charged at 20s were drawing in 23s 4d, and that which had been priced at 46s 8d was now worth 50s.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ LMA CLA/007/FN/02/003 f.44, 66, 265; CLA/007/FN/02/004 f.219.

⁷⁵ LMA CLA/007/FN/02/003 f.265.

⁷⁶ LMA CLA/007/FN/02/004 f.194.

⁷⁷ LMA CLA/007/FN/02/004 f.219.

⁷⁸ Harding and Wright, *London Bridge Selected Accounts*, 167.

Despite the fluctuations and growth of the economy as the sixteenth century dawned, the rental market appears to have remained intrinsically conservative. While this might be attributed to a slovenly institutional landowner, around this time it appears to have been common for private landlords to specify leases of 40 or even 60 years, clearly not anticipating dramatic growth in values. The Bridge's lease of the whole of Malteswharf to Robert Bartelot might in fact have been an attempt to ensure a guaranteed income, for many of the rentals for the chambers charged at 10s per annum were blank, indicating that the rent was vacant. Nonetheless, the property had been further subdivided between the Bridge's acquisition in 1460 and 1477, from two small tenements or houses and two chambers, to include as many eight chambers and 'watrynghouses'. Subdivision was carried out with the intention of increasing income: it achieved an increase of 9s per year, prior to the rebuilding of the main tenement. Thus although problems with leasing some of the properties might be apparent, overall the Bridge had no vacancies from the main rents of its St Magnus properties at any point in the fifteenth century. Notwithstanding a few 'blips', with limited direct investment, it was possible for this corporate landlord to secure a steadily increasing income from this key property between 1460 and the opening of the sixteenth century, reflecting the health of the property market in this neighbourhood.

4.6 Conclusion: Place and Property, Property and People

Just as it has become apparent that the properties of the Bridgehead neighbourhood were products of their very location, it is also clear that they were a product of the people of the area. While the facilities offered by the neighbourhood influenced the form and nature of the properties constructed within it, it was of course the people that came to take advantage of this location that actually moulded the form of the neighbourhood. This was enacted by market forces: the greater the advantage to be had from location in the area, the higher the value of land within it, thus incentivising development and sub-division of property. The strength of market forces, already well established, resembled the cut-throat world of sales and leases in modern London:

By the early twelfth century the urban property market had developed a form and a dynamic that in essence have persisted to the present. It was distinguished by the subdivision of land and buildings ... by underlying land values that reflected the demand for sites close to central areas of business, and by high investment in buildings (indicated by the height, density and solidity of structures, as by financial measures) close to those areas.⁷⁹

Transactions on the property market therefore carry greater importance than the mere transfer of individual properties; rather they represent the vitality of the local economy, shifting trends within local society and, through the range of individuals implicated in them, the very makeup of that society itself.

Despite general consensus that the fifteenth century was not a period of overwhelming economic success, the image that emerges from the property market of the Bridgehead is one of stable prosperity. Processes of sub-division of properties, usually associated with high demand economic growth, continued, and while rents were generally conservative, increases did occur. Volumes of property transactions exhibit a steady reduction over the duration of the fifteenth century; however, this is partially accounted for by the decline in popularity of enrolment of transactions in the Court of Husting (see Chapter 2). It appears that the property market in the fifteenth century Bridgehead did not witness inflationary growth, yet the result was not stagnation, for the market continued to function and investment was still effective.

Property was increasingly employed for diverse purposes within the fifteenth century. Primarily, this took the form of attempts to expedite salvation by the donation of real property to ecclesiastical bodies (or corporate bodies as administrators of ecclesiastical foundations) to establish chantries and obits. This, perhaps most of all, brings into focus property history as the personal history of those involved: the aspiring shopkeeper taking a lease on a newly subdivided property, the widow paying

⁷⁹ Keene, "Landlords, the Property Market and Urban Development in Medieval England," 95.

a rose-rent and the wealthy merchant on his deathbed all represent not just a story of a property, but a personal story.

The patterns amongst the property transactions are highly revealing. The make-up of the owners of property in the neighbourhood was to some extent distinct from its residents (a distinction explored in the following chapter), with a slightly disproportionate number of Mercers and Goldsmiths, for example, clearly acting as investors, or possibly landlords. Nonetheless, the vast majority of those active in the local property market were those with a commercial reason to be there, shaped by the natural and legal topography of the space. The most prolific occupations of property owners and traders exhibited clear trends that reflect the topographical advantages of the neighbourhood. Fishmongers and Stockfishmongers naturally flocked to an area that provided access to both a landing place for their goods, and a market for them. Customary regulations surrounding markets, and especially the rights of search and inspection of goods, also had a large part to play in this intense and reciprocal pattern of clustering of members of the Fishmongers and Stockfishmongers, explored in depth in Chapter 5.

5 Crafts and Companies

Medieval London was home to a multitude of occupations, known as crafts or ‘mysteries’, the vast majority of which were regulated through formal institutions known as Guilds or Companies. Not only did these guilds claim jurisdiction over an individual’s professional life, but controlled his political status through access to the freedom of the city, influenced his social life through formalised feasting and religious observance, and often claimed jurisdiction over aspects of his interaction with the law. Furthermore, occupation influenced general patterns of sociability simply by dictating with whom an individual tended to interact on a regular basis. In short, the Companies inevitably formed one of the primary pillars of society.

In the late twentieth century, historians such as Rappaport and Archer first began to seriously explore the idea of Companies as generators of institutional loyalties and identity, rather than simply as economic bodies. Rappaport estimated that three-quarters of male Londoners in the mid sixteenth-century were free members of the companies and thus citizens. Archer argued that loyalty and identity within Companies allowed them to continue to exert control over the pursuit of legal redress by claiming jurisdiction over legal cases involving their members’ dealings not just with each other, but in many types of economic dispute.¹

The mysteries and their members were not evenly distributed throughout the city. Each had a hall, usually located within the centre of gravity of their members’ operations. The Bridgehead was not home to any company halls, although the Fishmongers’ Company hall came to be located in the neighbouring parish of St Michael Crooked Lane. This chapter analyses evidence for the occupational makeup of the area, and considers the differences between the relative numbers of company members found in local deeds and wills. The neighbourhood, it appears, was split occupationally not into four parishes, nor two wards, but relatively evenly into three distinct economic zones.

While many occupations were found in the neighbourhood, certain trades dominated, both in terms of numbers, and perhaps in terms of economic influence. First amongst these were the associated Fishmongers’ and Stockfishmongers’ Companies. Despite the similarity between their trades – they both sold fish – the practicalities of these differing trades, dealing with fresh and preserved fish, respectively, meant that their day-to-day operations were distinct. The fifteenth century witnessed the beginnings of a transition in the operation of Companies, and the location of members of the various trades, from an intensely localised system, to a more formalised

¹ Ian W Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 100; Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London*, 186.

administrative structure, without the same degree of residential clustering amongst their members. While the rigid enforcement of trade quarters is generally considered to have declined after the Black Death, yet many areas associated with particular trades had originally gained those associations because of logical commercial practicalities. Guildsmen did not disperse randomly throughout the city in large numbers, but the concept of the trade quarter emerges as subject to erosion.

In this chapter, the relationship between occupation and neighbourhood in fifteenth-century London emerges as reciprocal. The Bridgehead had very particular topographical characteristics, including wharf and market facilities and exceptionally high levels of passing traffic. Furthermore, civic custom, already entrenched by the fourteenth century, dictated which goods could be loaded and sold in these locations. Such conditions created a distinct economic character, and had profound ramifications upon other spheres of life.

5.1 The Local Distribution of Occupations

Personal names and trade designations in deeds allow the identification of the occupation of 70% of male vendors or recipients (including feoffees of land). This includes those parties to transactions who had legal title to the land, rather than those who merely acted as witness or attorneys and who, being male, would have had an 'occupation' likely to be expressed in legal form, whether citizen, foreign, clergy or gentry. Of this number, around 10% were clergy (explained, in part, by the preponderance for the use of clergy as feoffees) and less than 2% were defined as gentlemen or gentry (who were probably lawyers). The remainder were almost entirely citizens identified with a London Craft or Company, although a large proportion of those of unidentifiable occupation were non-Londoners and thus excluded in this analysis.

Fishmongers were by far the most numerous parties to deeds, representing over 13% across the full sample. The second most numerous craft in the property transactions were the Grocers and Stockfishmongers, each representing only 7%, and Mercers at 5%. Naturally, a large number of other occupations and trades are represented, covering the spectrum from Armourer to Woodmonger.

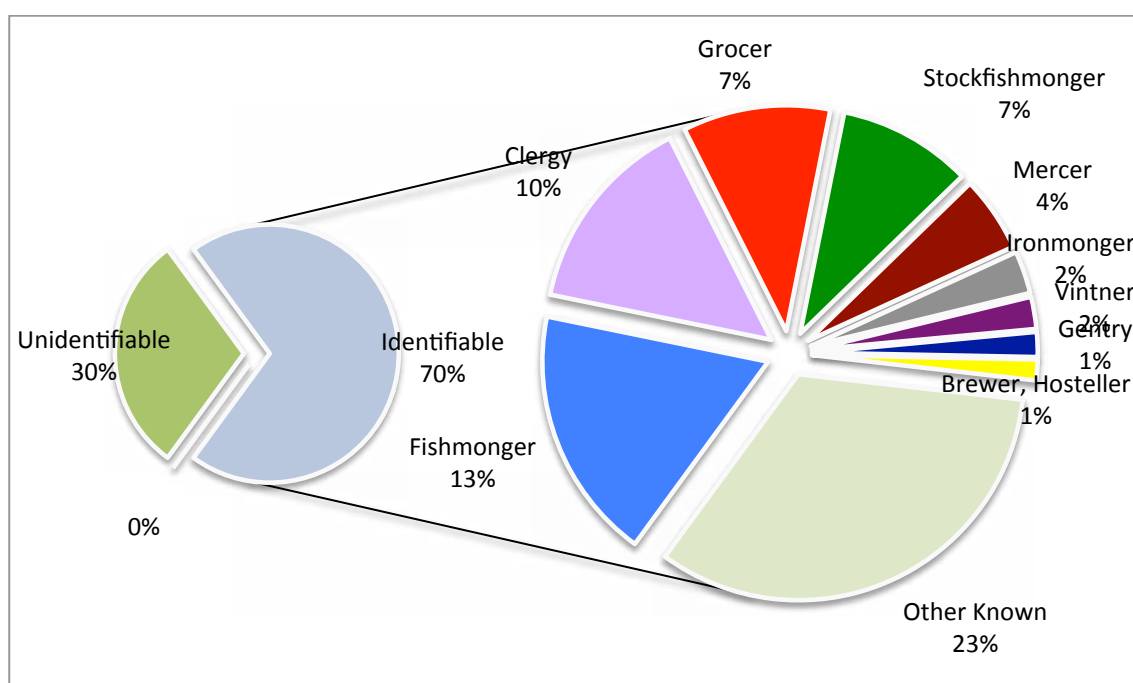


Figure 5.1 – Occupations of parties to all available fifteenth century property transactions across sampled parishes, 1400-1500 (n=1917)

Simple averages across the whole sample are necessarily limited in their representation of the actual distribution of craft members. Breaking down the data relating to property transactions by parish, very different patterns emerge (Figure 5.3). Fishmongers, over-all most common trade, were dramatically concentrated in particular parishes: in St Margaret Bridge Street, they account for over 30% of documented individuals, while in St Botolph Billingsgate their presence represented only

around 12%. Similarly, while virtually absent from St Botolph Billingsgate, and accounting for fewer than 5% in both St Mary at Hill and St Margaret, Stockfishmongers account for over 20% of parties to deeds in the parish of St Magnus – a greater number than Fishmongers. The greatest numbers of Grocers were active in the parishes of St Mary at Hill and St Botolph Billingsgate, reflecting the proximity to Billingsgate, where their goods were customarily unloaded. These two parishes are also the least homogenous: many different crafts and occupations each accounted for around 10% of parties to transactions.

Deeds cannot, however, present the full picture. The data available for property transactions is weighted primarily toward the earlier part of the fifteenth century, reflecting the declining popularity of the Husting Court, and thus any impression derived solely from this source is not only unrepresentative of the century as a whole, but cannot effectively show change over time. Furthermore, property was, as shown in Chapter 4, an expensive investment, beyond the reach of the majority of Londoners. The sample of wills for these parishes, however, covers three periods throughout the century, with a large number of documents from each period originating from a variety of courts, covering a wide social spectrum. The occupation of 84% of male testators within the sample is recorded.

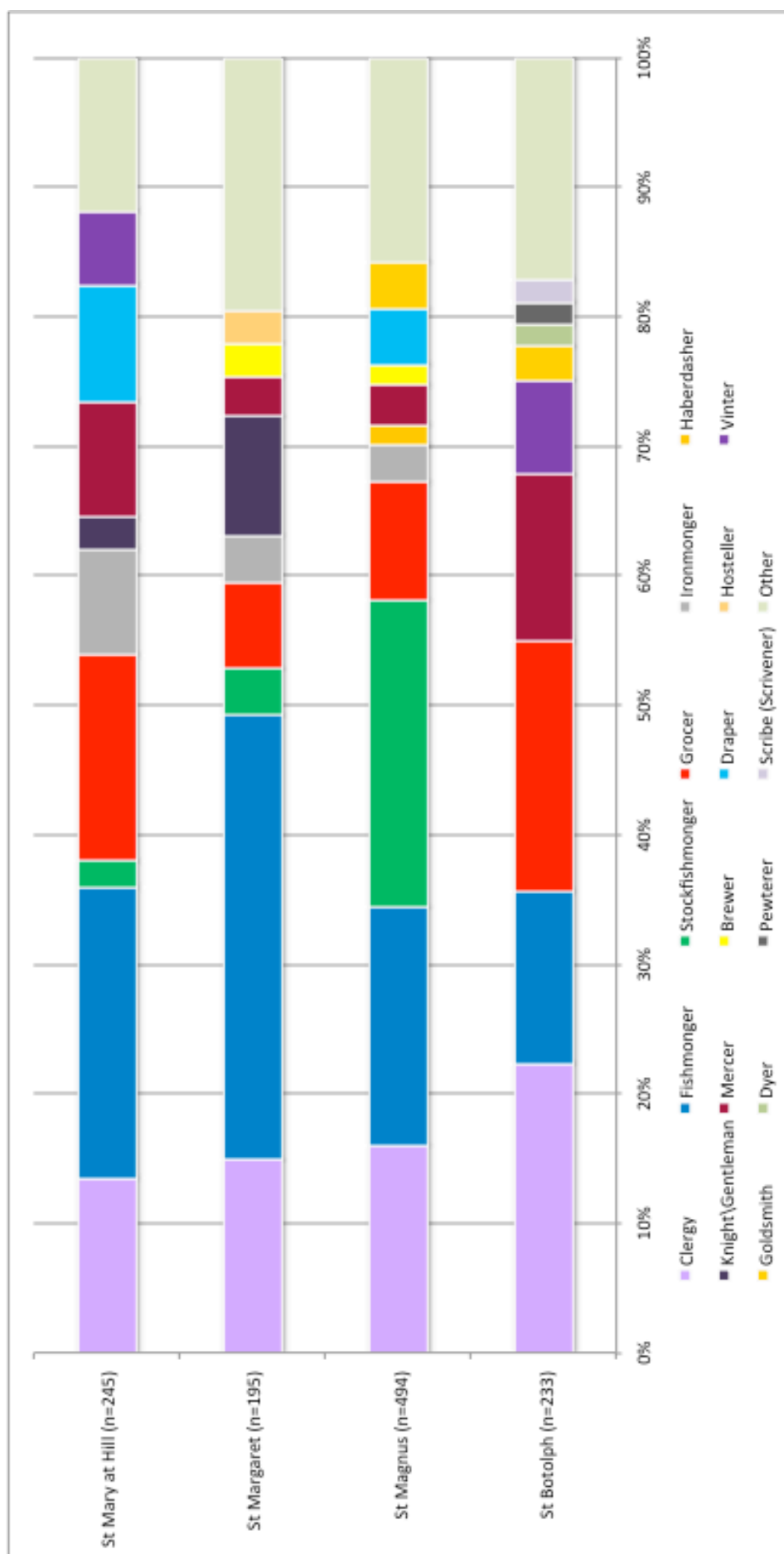


Figure 5.2 – Proportions of identifiable male parties to fifteenth century property conveyances, by most common crafts and occupations. Occupations represented by a very small number of individuals are combined as ‘other’ and the various ranks of clergy are aggregated; women are excluded (all sampled deeds 1400-1500).

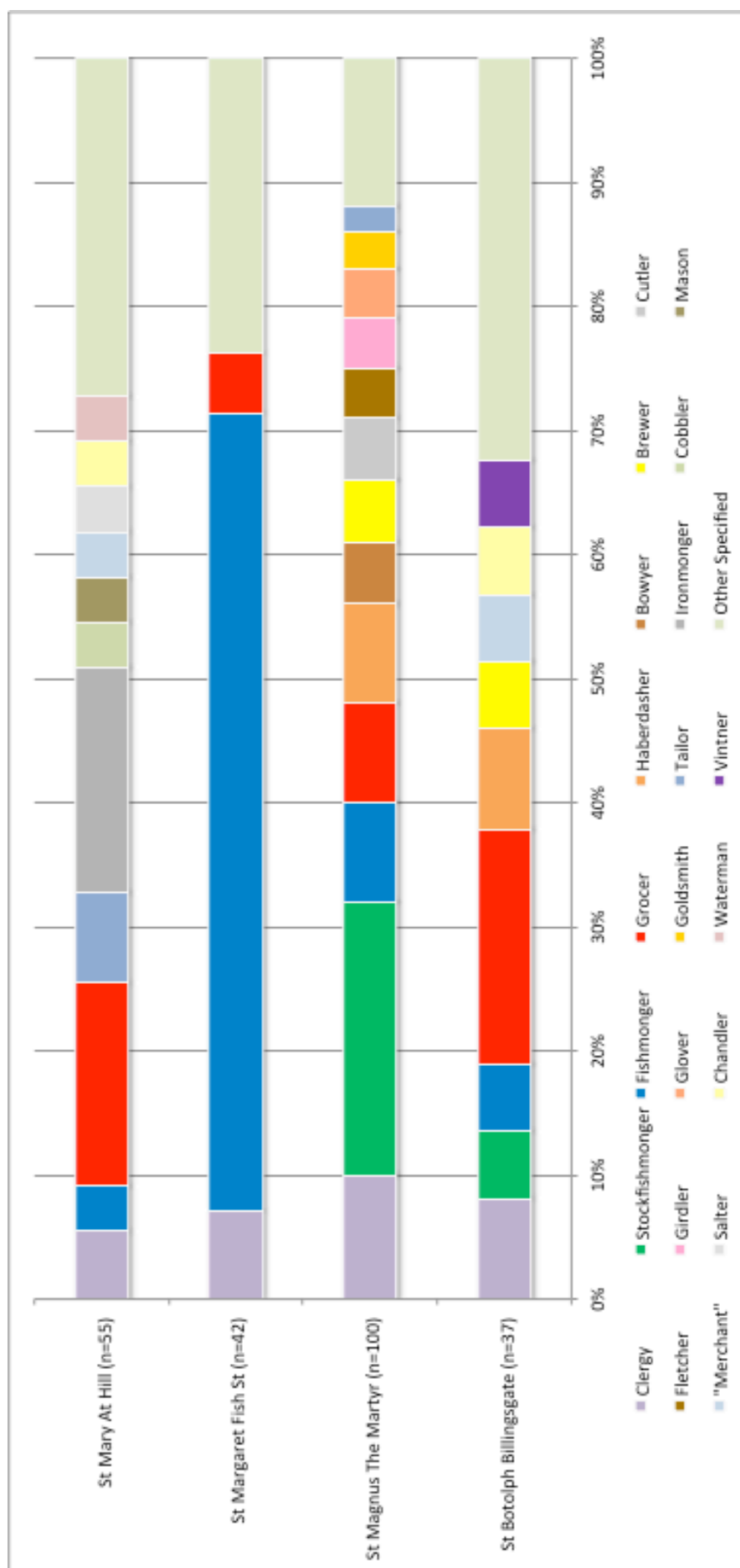


Figure 5.3 – Proportions of male testators with identifiable occupations by parish. Occupations/crafts with only a single occurrence are included in 'other'; clergy are aggregated. Testators with no identifiable craft or occupation and women are excluded (all samples 1400-1420, 1440-1460, 1480-1500)

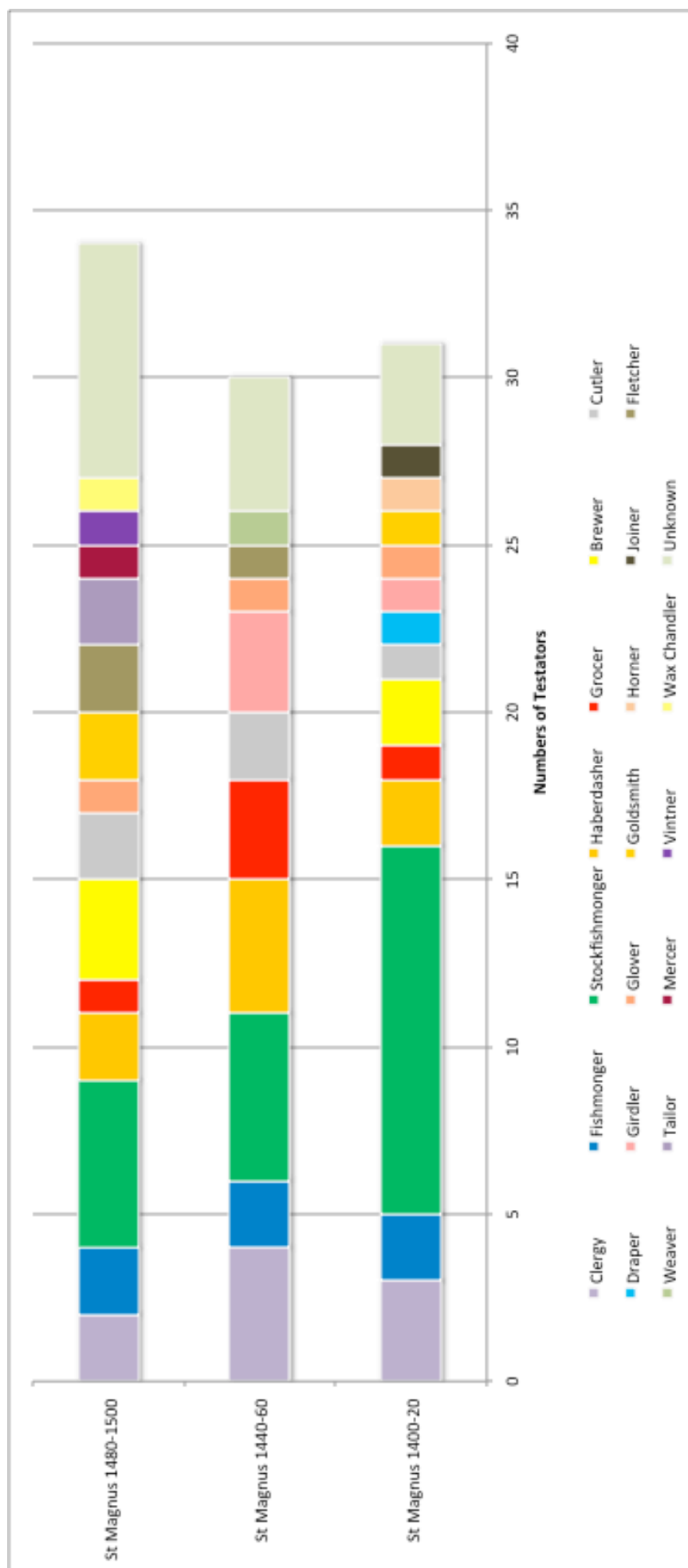


Figure 5.4 - Numbers of male testators from St Magnus the Martyr by craft. All occupations specified in wills are included apart from clergy, who are aggregated; 'unknown' represents male testators who describe no occupation. Female testators are excluded (all samples 1400-1420, 1440-1460, 1480-1500).

The relative occurrence of occupations and crafts in wills is strikingly different from the impression gained from deeds. Considering all testators, across all four parishes and three samples (Figure 5.5), there are some key similarities, but crucial differences. The four most common occupations: the clergy, Fishmongers, Stockfishmongers and Grocers, remain dominant, representing roughly comparable relative proportions of testators. However, while these groups still predominate among testators, they are less dominant: typically 5% fewer than equivalent figures for property dealings. This discrepancy is primarily accounted for by the greater numbers of minor trades and occupations (grouped as ‘other known’), which grows from representing a third of individuals in property transactions, to over half of testators. While ‘others’ includes major trades not generally associated with the area, such as Goldsmiths, it includes many members of companies of lower prestige, such as Cutlers, Armourers, Fletchers, Bowyers, Skinners and Chandlers. Many of the men of those trades therefore were of sufficient prosperity to make a will, but unable to afford property.

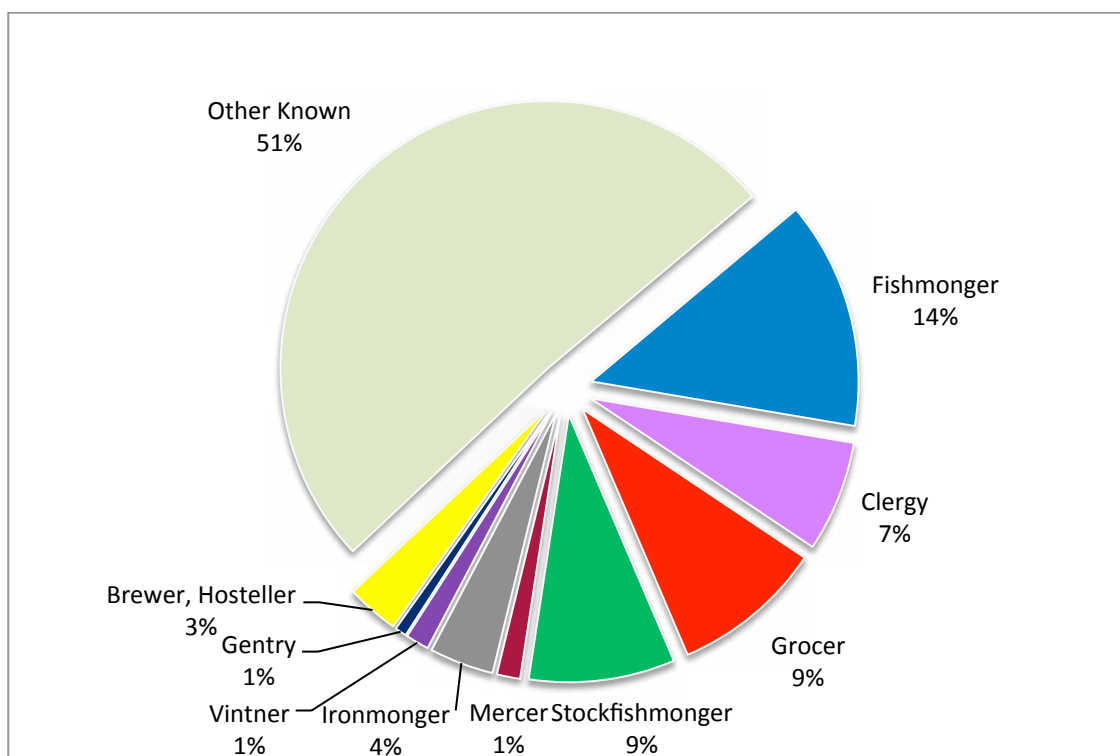


Figure 5.5 – Relative occurrence of occupations amongst male testators across [all sampled wills] (n=283).

The occupations less common as testators than as property owners are notable. Most prominently Mercers, who had accounted for around 5% of property owners, represent only 1.5% of testators, while the gentry, who had featured in 2% of of property transactions, account for fewer than 1% of testators. Such comparisons suggest that greater guilds held a disproportionate influence in the property market of the neighbourhood, relative to their actual residency, which was negligible: many of the property owners appearing in deeds were therefore landlords or investors, while many of their tenants can be found amongst testators. Most significantly, the ‘other’ category is much larger for testators than for property owners, confirming that the social make-up of the neighbourhood was

far broader than its property market, and that the handful of leading trades accounted for a disproportionate share of the market. The 'swing' in proportion of property dealers to testators is away from the clergy, Fishmongers, Stockfishmongers and Grocers, and toward the multitude of minor trades and occupations.

Just as the consideration of property ownership by parish yields a very different impression when aggregated, so too does the picture amongst testators (Figure 5.3). In many respects, patterns amongst property owners at parish level are replicated amongst testators, but with significant differences. Most striking is St Margaret Bridge Street, where Fishmongers accounted for over 30% of property transactions, but 60% of testators, emphasizing that this was the most homogenous parish. Generally, however, the breakdown of testators into parishes confirms the overall impression that the composition of the parishes was far more heterogeneous than suggested by the property market. In St Magnus the Martyr (by far the largest sample) one occupation – Stockfishmongers – accounts for more than 10% of testators (22%), and most other testators came from only twelve other occupations, each accounting for between five and ten percent, leaving twelve testators with unique trades. Likewise at St Botolph Billingsgate, the Grocers are the only company to represent more than 10% of known occupations (14%), and the remainder of the numerically significant occupations each accounts for between five and ten percent, while the 'other' category accounts for proportionately even more, with more than 30% of testators.

The evidence from wills is most at odds with that from deeds in the parish of St Mary at Hill, where Fishmongers, who had been the largest single group amongst the parties to property transactions (over 20%), counted among the least common occupations amongst testators with fewer than 5%. Similarly, Mercers accounted for 8% of parties to deeds, yet only one member of that craft appears amongst the sample of testators. Conversely, Grocers who had formed 14% of parties to deeds, and Ironmongers who represented 7.5%, were far more common as testators at St Mary at Hill, representing the largest single occupations with 13% and 14% of testators, respectively. While these two social indicators are clearly related, the relationship between the property market and the social make-up of testators was certainly not direct, and might even work inversely.

Steady availability of wills throughout the fifteenth century allows comparison over time as well as between parishes. The three sample periods each yield between 30 and 35 wills composed by male testators in the parish of St Magnus the Martyr, thus illustrating development of the parish over the course of the century. While Stockfishmongers account for over 20% testators throughout the century, this is unequally distributed. Between 1400 and 1420, eleven of thirty-one testators in the parish were Stockfishmongers, but in the later periods only five of thirty, and thirty-four,

respectively, were members of this craft.² The mid-century saw the relative dominance of the Stockfishmongers balanced with larger numbers of Haberdashers, Cutlers, Girdlers and Grocers. The sample covering the closing decades of the fifteenth century presents a startling contrast with the earliest decades, and with the situation in property deeds, for the thirty-four testators with known occupations were split between sixteen professions, compared with thirteen in 1400-20 and only ten in 1440-60. While the Stockfishmongers were again the largest single trade, the only other occupation to feature more than twice was brewing.

The parishes of St Botolph, St Margaret, and St Mary all yield samples too small to present meaningful trends among testators across the century, yet in each case many more occupations are present in 1480-1500 than in 1400-1420. While St Margaret Bridge Street was home to six testators of only two occupations in the earliest sample, later we find seventeen testators with ten different occupations. St Mary at Hill and St Margaret display a linear progression between the three samples, including the period 1440-60. This suggests a pattern of slow, steady, economic and demographic growth. However, this was not the case in St Botolph and St Magnus, which show decline in the 1440-1460 sample, both in number of testators and of occupational diversity.

This may reflect the prevailing economic conditions of the period, with those parishes that had experienced the highest demand for land betraying most clearly the effects of stagnating or declining populations. While the number of wills surviving from the latest period is higher, the numbers from each are within a similar range, suggesting that all parishes did indeed witness increasing heterogeneity throughout the fifteenth century.

The Economic Zones of the Bridgehead and Billingsgate

While both deeds and wills leave much to be desired as indicators of the neighbourhood's social makeup, each corroborates the other, suggesting that the crafts of the Fishmongers, Stockfishmongers and Grocers were by far the most common, both as property owners and as testators (and by implication residents). In all of these cases, and especially in the case of Fishmongers, their economic influence in terms of engagement with the property market was disproportionate to their apparent residence. Accepting wills as the more accurate indicator of residency, while heterogeneity increased throughout the fifteenth century in all parishes, clear patterns in occupational make-up emerge across the Bridgehead.

Patterns in the spatial distribution of the crafts appear to have operated on an east-west axis. While the overall preponderance of Fishmongers and Stockfishmongers appears clear, when considered by

² It is possible that this was obscured by the merger of the Fishmongers and Stockfishmongers' Companies in the last decades of the century, discussed below.

parish it is weighted toward the western parishes of St Magnus and St Margaret, while both crafts were amongst the least numerous in St Botolph's, and the Stockfishmongers were almost completely absent from St Mary at Hill. Conversely, the Grocers, while present in all parishes, were far more common in the east, and the Ironmongers made up a large part of the parish of St Mary, but were otherwise absent. Likewise, artisan trades such as Bowyers, Fletchers, Cutlers and Girdlers were present in St Magnus's, but were rarely found elsewhere.

Considering the commercial and topographical characteristics of the area, this division of occupations between the parishes supports a general division of the neighbourhood into three broad economic 'zones':

1. Billingsgate wharf and market
2. London Bridge
3. Bridge Street fish market, Fish Wharf, and the margins of Stockfishmonger Row

Billingsgate was a general wharf, which civic custom prescribed for the landing of many bulk goods, including iron, woad, alum, dry foodstuffs and the like.³ Despite the fact that Grocers were primarily concentrated around Soper Lane, and later Bucklersbury, Billingsgate was also a natural location for them as many of the primary goods of their trade were landed there.⁴ Thus, it is not surprising that proportionately more grocers were found in the parishes of St Mary at Hill and St Botolph Billingsgate than in neighbouring St Magnus, and dramatically more than St Margaret Bridge Street.

St Mary at Hill was also home to a larger number of Ironmongers than might have been supposed from the property ownership evidence: several, for example, served as churchwardens (see Chapter 6). Given that the merchant-Ironmonger's stock-in-trade could be very similar to that of the grocer, this is hardly surprising. Although dating from the closing years of the fourteenth century, the account ledger of Gilbert Maughfeld, Ironmonger and tenant of Freshwharf (SBB W 1) in St Botolph Billingsgate, sheds much light upon the materials and practicalities of his trade, which were very similar to those of a Grocer. In addition to iron, his imports included wine, beaver furs, saffron and liquorice from Bilbao, and wax, linen, copper, millstones, herring, and most significantly woad and alum from Genoa and Skånia. Iron remained an important part of his trade, accounting for between 66 and 75% of his imports in the early 1390s, the majority of which he sold wholesale to

³ See Chapter 3 for more detail.

⁴ Nightingale, *A Medieval Mercantile Community*, 34, 402.

other merchants in London and beyond.⁵ Indeed, Richard Flemyng, the first master of the Ironmongers was active in the local property market and died in 1464 as a parishioner of St Magnus.⁶ Clearly, for this kind of trade, a location close to Billingsgate was ideal.

The close connection between the trades of the Ironmongers and Grocers was evident in other respects. Whereas members of the Grocers' Company were in the highest ranks of civic precedence, the Ironmongers were considerably lower, despite the similar natures of their trade. Close social contact between the crafts was therefore natural, and apprenticeship of children of Ironmongers to Grocers was a popular avenue for social advancement: John Marshall (d.1498) was almost certainly the son of John Marsall (d.1465). Both were parishioners of St Mary at Hill, the elder had been an Ironmonger, and the younger a Grocer.⁷ This progression up the ladder of civic trades, within the context of a localised framework can be seen in numerous other contexts: William Flemyng, almost certainly a son of Richard Flemyng the Ironmonger, appears in the 1470s as a Fishmonger.⁸

London Bridge presents a particular case. It is impossible to differentiate the majority of testators, or indeed feoffees or other legal parties, between those residing in the parish of St Magnus on its landward side, and those residing upon the bridge itself. All premises on the Bridge were property of Bridge House and leased on a short-term basis, therefore did not appear in Husting court records. The discrepancy between the wide range of occupations found in wills from St Magnus, and the limited range seen in deeds, can at least be partially explained by this. While the account books of the Bridge House faithfully preserve the names of tenants, very seldom do they mention their trade or occupation. Taking one year, 1494 (the year of the St Magnus tithing preserved in Arnold's Chronicle), it is possible to identify the trades of a significant minority of tenants (Table 5.1). Most notable is the relative lack of the prominent mysteries identified by other sources: only one Fishmonger, one Stockfishmonger and one Ironmonger appeared as tenants on the bridge, although there were three Grocers. Disproportionately numerous, however, are Haberdashers, of whom there were also three, Girdlers, again three, two Bowyers, a Cutler, a Mercer, a Draper and a Tailor.⁹

⁵ Margery K. James, "A London Merchant of the Fourteenth Century," *Economic History Review* 8, no. 3 (1956): 367.

⁶ PROB 11/5 Godyn 5.

⁷ PROB 11/5 Godyn 10; PROB 11/12 Moone 19.

⁸ HR 205(12).

⁹ Mackie found a similar distribution amongst rentals sampled throughout the century: Heather Mackie, "An Examination of the Use and Maintenance of London Bridge: 1468- 1502" (Unpublished MA Dissertation, Egham: Royal Holloway, University of London, 2010), 22.

Table 5.1 – Tenants on London Bridge in 1494 whose occupation is identifiable, with annual rent, organised by location on the bridge (CLA/007/FN/02/004, vol.4, f.143v-148).

Location	Name	£	S	D	Occupation
Principal East Part	Richard Arnold	1			Haberdasher
		0			
	John Balke	2			Haberdasher
	William Gardyner	5	6	8	Grocer
	John Umfrey	1	13	4	Ironmonger
Principal West Part	John Palmere	1	10		Girdler
	Annes Quant	1	6	8	widow John Quant, Boywer
	Thomas Petite	5	13	4	Tailor
	Stevyn Long	4			Fishmonger
	John Aleyn	2	6	4	Mercer
Middle East Part	John Eton	3			Haberdasher
	John Sapworth	2			Draper
	Thomas Morteyn		13	4	Bowyer
	William Hertwell	1	10		Cutler
	Robert Robgeamt		13	4	Related to John, Girdler?
Middle West Part	William Stede	2	13	4	Grocer
	John Robgeamt	3	10		Girdler
	Thomas Morten	2	13	4	Bowyer
West End	John Drayton	2	6	4	Grocer
	John Thorneton	1	13	4	Stockfishmonger

This distribution of crafts is uncharacteristic of the remainder of the neighbourhood, featuring as it does disproportionately few of the major local crafts, and many artisans such as Bowyers and Cutlers. Although impressionistic, it suggests that the core focus of this commercial area was consumer goods, focused upon Haberdashers – dealers in small personal goods and textile accessories. St Magnus's was the location of one of the two major concentrations of haberdashers in the medieval city, along with Ludgate Hill and the area surrounding the west of St Paul's.¹⁰ It would be logical to suppose that this 'cluster' of associated trades on the Bridge also provided a home to some of the other crafts represented amongst St Magnus's wills who are otherwise undocumented, such as Fletchers, Glovers and Horners. Although the company affiliation of tenants need not have dictated their actual commercial activities, such a concentration of similar trades must suggest that there was a market for such goods on the bridge. Retailing appears to have been the primary economic activity, focused upon finished items of clothing, and weaponry.

The eastern side of the Bridgehead was an area predisposed toward commercial wholesale activities, and the southern extremity, the Bridge itself, was a retailing zone. Naturally, the neighbourhood also housed a variety of other crafts, and as discussed in previous chapters, Billingsgate served as a

¹⁰ Ian W Archer, *The History of the Haberdashers' Company* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1991), 11.

ferry terminal, while taverns and alehouses were ubiquitous. The remainder of our area, centred upon Bridge Street and its intersection with Thames Street, had an altogether different commercial character – it was a market area that specialized in a particular product: fish.

5.2 The Fishmongers' and Stockfishmongers' Companies

Sixteenth century England ate a lot of fish, and a relatively large part of its population made a living out of this fact. When one considers the place occupied by cod and ling and salted herring in the menus of the time, it comes as a surprise to find how little serious work has been done on this theme.¹¹

The dominance of members of the companies associated with fish within the Bridgehead is beyond doubt. The largest single occupational group, representing 14% of testators, they accounted for 13% of parties to property transactions. Fishmongers could be found in only eighteen parishes *throughout* the fifteenth century, whereas many other crafts quickly became much more widely distributed by the latter part of the century (Figure 5.6). Despite being one of the twelve great companies of the city, the medieval Fishmongers' Company is neither well studied, nor does it present a straightforward narrative. As is already evident, the modern Worshipful Company of Fishmongers is in fact composed of two separate – and at many times antagonistic – medieval companies: the Fishmongers and the Stockfishmongers. Both were successful and prominent in their own right, and fulfilled a vital demand in the medieval economy, and diet: hence their economic success.

Considering the Fishmongers' and Stockfishmongers' Companies from a citywide perspective, it is clear that the Bridgehead was home to one of two concentrations of their members. Summarizing the indexed wills of fishmongers in the Commissary Court (the only probate court with reliable indexing of both occupation and parish), it is immediately apparent that throughout the sample period, members of the Fishmongers' Company were located in two distinct clusters.¹² The first around the market of Old Fish Street, centred on the parishes of St Mary Magdalen Old Fish Street and St Nicholas Cole Abbey, and the second in and around the market at Bridge Street, in the parishes of St Margaret Bridge Street and St Magnus the Martyr. Around each of these nuclei, numbers of Fishmongers found in neighbouring parishes declines dramatically, with typically between one and three Fishmonger testators across all the sample periods in the parishes bordering the clusters (Figure 5.6). Stockfishmongers, by contrast, possessed only one nucleus, centred upon the parishes of St Magnus and St Michael Crooked Lane. A similar decline over distance occurs

¹¹ G. R. Elton, "Piscatorial Politics in the Early Parliaments of Elizabeth I," in *Business Life and Public Policy: Essays in Honour of D.C. Coleman*, ed. N McKendrick and R. B. Outhwaite (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 2.

¹² Many Fishmongers and Stockfishmongers were entitled to enrol their wills in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, however the available indexes to the records of this court seldom detail occupation, even where it is possible to discern this from the will. Therefore, while it is possible to perform a geographically based survey of PCC wills, it is not practicable to do so occupationally.

from the centre of the cluster, and there was a single outlying Stockfishmonger in the Fishmongers' cluster at St Nicholas Cole Abbey.

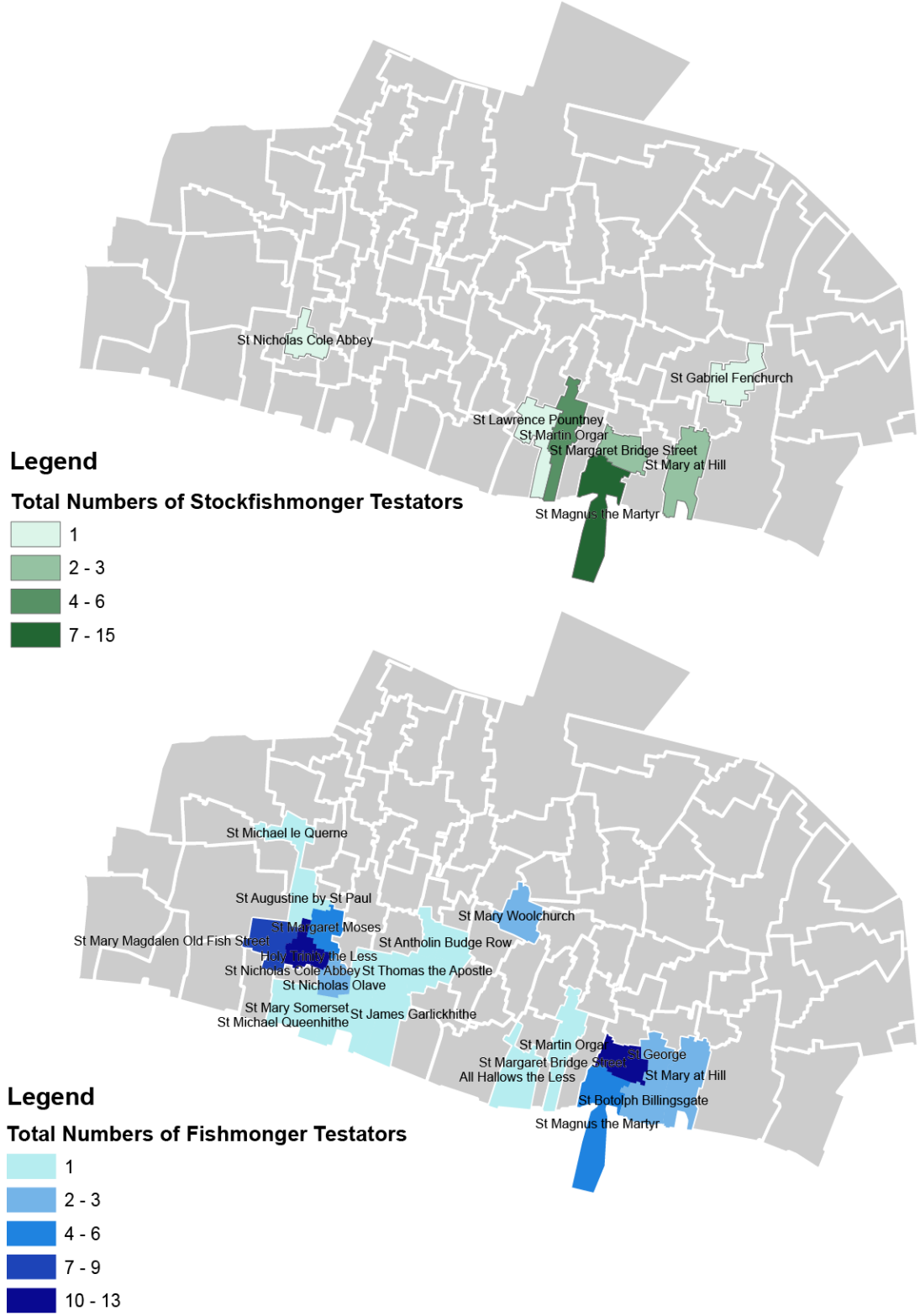


Figure 5.6 – Distribution of Fishmongers and Stockfishmongers as testators in the register of the Commissary Court of London, across all sample periods. Compiled from Fitch (1969). St Michael Crooked Lane is a notable exception, especially in the case of Stockfishmongers, as it was under the probate jurisdiction of the Court of Arches, the records of which are lost.

The Trade in Fish: Supply

The prohibition of consumption of meat on holy days meant that fish was an essential component of the medieval diet, but it was a foodstuff that travelled poorly and spoiled quickly, which meant that its provision in medieval Europe was always problematic. While archaeological evidence for fish consumption is sparser than for most foodstuffs, several urban excavations indicate that, from the eleventh century, sea fish were far more commonly consumed than freshwater fish. Herring remains outnumber those of other fish by an order of magnitude: one excavation recorded ten times as many remains of preserved herring as of whole herring. However, the relative size of a cod confirms that they formed the majority of the fish consumed, especially in London and on the east coast.¹³

The majority of fresh fish available to London originated from the coast from as far north as Lincolnshire and as far southwest as Sussex. The degree of specialisation of the task of fishing meant that few fishermen had much interest in retailing their catch directly and many ports, such as Great Yarmouth, explicitly encouraged fishermen to sell direct from their boats to locals, peddlers carrying fish into the countryside, or stewards of great houses, but primarily to merchants.¹⁴ The rapid distribution of perishables such as fish was critical, especially in the case of flat fish such as plaice, which made up a large proportion of the catch at Rye.¹⁵ Rather than subject fish to the vagaries of shipping under power of sail, most was carried overland. Couriers known as *rippiers* used pannier baskets known as *dossers* (a pair having a combined capacity equivalent to 2½ bushels of oats), carried on packhorses. Rye had a fleet of 300 horses employed in supplying London alone, and could reach the capital in a matter of hours.¹⁶ Custom in Rye and Winchelsea prevented strangers from buying fish directly, or merchants from participating directly in fishing. Therefore local merchants or hosts bought the fish from the fishermen, and dispatched it via the *rippiers*, to fishmongers who had already negotiated its purchase via their factors. Nonetheless London

¹³ D Serjeantson and C. M. Woolgar, "Fish Consumption in Medieval England," in *Food in Medieval England*, ed. C. M. Woolgar, D Serjeantson, and T Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 108-117.

¹⁴ Maryanne Kowaleski, "The Internal and International Fish Trades of Medieval England and Wales: The Internal Fish Trade," in *England's Sea Fisheries: The Commercial Sea Fisheries of England and Wales Since 1300* (London: Chatham, 2000), 29.

¹⁵ Gillian Draper, *Rye: A History of a Sussex Cinque Port to 1660* (History Press, 2009), 49; A.J.F Dulley, "The Early History of the Rye Fishing Industry," *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 107 (1969): 36-64; J. P McManus, "The Trade and Market in Fish in the London Area During The Early Sixteenth Century, 1485-1563" (Unpublished MA Thesis, University of London, 1952).

¹⁶ LMA COL/CC/01/01/014 f.136.

fishmongers were active in the Rye property market, including Thomas Stoughton who bought the Ypres Tower in the town in 1452. Conversely, James Wilford, a Merchant Taylor and London alderman had also been active as a *rippier* in the early sixteenth century.¹⁷

The close relationship between the fishing towns of the coast, and London's Fishmongers had profound implications, fostering social and family connections between supplier and merchant. Many of the Fishmongers' Company regulations indicate details of their relationship with their suppliers (summarised in Table 5.2). While the earliest regulations sought to prevent forestalling by prohibiting Londoners from riding out to meet the horses bringing fish across London Bridge, by the time of the ordinances of 1509, the Company had established strong links and control over the overland trade. The south coast towns of Rye, Winchelsea and Hastings enforced their hosting system, referred to as *ostage*, to prevent total domination of their trade by outsiders, yet the Fishmongers' Company prohibited its factors from hosting with hosts not registered and approved by its own wardens. This arrangement appears to have almost amounted to a 'colonial economy', with London Fishmongers often providing the capital for ships, nets, and processing facilities: the 1480 will of Laurence Fyncham, London Fishmonger and owner of a 'saltehou' in Winchelsea, released the debts to him of 'any rypiers that have been outhere myn hoosts or servants of what contrey so ever they be which have borrowed any money of me for seefish and standed in my boke'.¹⁸ While the Fishmongers' buyers were located in the southern towns, selecting the fish, the practicalities of dispatch were the responsibility of the hosts. The Fishmongers' ordinances required local hosts selling to London buyers to dispatch their fish in time for the *rippiers* to reach the markets by 8am in summer and 7-8am in winter, as well as to obey the assize on the capacity carried, as well as carrying a tally recording the quantity of fish dispatched allowing audit.¹⁹

London's Fishmongers also traded salmon brought by pannier from the Thames basin, or as far afield as the Severn and Carlisle, or salted and shipped by sea from Berwick. Liverymen engaging in a trip were obliged to sell at least two of the six that could be carried in a pannier by wholesale, and non-liverymen three of the six, this condition apparently aiming to prevent those with the large amount of capital required forming a monopoly on this trade. One dispute from the 1450s also reveals another supply chain used by London Fishmongers, when Nicholas Jepe petitioned Richard

¹⁷ Other members of the Wilford family had been active as members of the Fishmongers' Company in the fifteenth century, explaining this connection. Richard F. Dell, *The Records of Rye Corporation* (Lewes: East Sussex County Council, 1962), 101,139.

¹⁸ McManus, "The Trade and Market in Fish," 223 PCC Logge 3.

¹⁹ FishOrd, 17-18.

Webstere, bailiff of Cambridge, for the wrongful detention of the horse and cart that he intended to use to bring pike to the capital for the King's household.²⁰

Fresh sea fish was also brought by boat, although the relative lack of ordinances concerning this subject amongst those of 1509 would suggest that it was a relatively un-contentious or unprofitable supply, and was never subject to customs. All Fishmongers were allowed to buy fresh whiting, plaice, cod and herring that had been transported from Holland, Flanders, Norfolk or Suffolk from the wharves at Billingsgate and Queenhithe. It has been suggested that cod and other larger line-caught species were kept alive in wells of circulating water on board Dutch fishing vessels much earlier than the first recorded use of this method in England in the early 1700s.²¹

Seaborne transport of salted, rather than fresh, fish appears to have been a keener concern for Fishmongers' Company: ordinances concentrate upon trade with the north of England, and especially Scarborough. The number of ordinances directed at Fishmongers' factors riding out to northern towns to buy various types of salt-fish indicates both that this was an important activity, and that it was only rarely undertaken, for those riding out had to obtain a licence from the Mayor or wardens.²² Whether this was designed to ensure quality, or simply to ensure monopoly is a moot point: in 1477 the ten individuals were fined for receiving saltfish without license included both Fishmongers and a Haberdasher.²³ The primary object of this trade appears to have been salt salmon, although Scarborough-fish was sometimes used as a generic term for ling and other members of the cod family. The ordinances relating to saltfish concentrated upon ensuring that the factors bought fish before it was barrelled or boxed to ensure quality. The costs involved in sending factors presumably helped to enforce the ruling that only wardens, and those licensed by them, were allowed to bring in salt-fish or salt-salmon by sea. Other varieties of salt-fish: herrings, eels and stockfish had no restrictions on how they were transported, but were to be turned out from their barrels or boxes before sale to exhibit quality.²⁴

²⁰ TNA C 1/19/435.

²¹ McManus, "The Trade and Market in Fish," 48.

²² FishOrd, 14.

²³ LMA COL/CC/01/01/008, f.154.

²⁴ FishOrd, 14-20v.

Table 5.2 – Categories and origins of fish detailed in 1509 (Fishmongers’ Ordinances ff.8-21)

State	Delivered	Described as	Species	Origin
Fresh	Land - Rippier	ostage Fish Assize Fish Tail Fish Fresh Fish	Whiting Plaice	Rye Winchelsea Hastings
Fresh	Land - Cart		Pike Eels	Cambridgeshire The Fens
Fresh	Billingsgate or Queenhithe	Any Fishmonger can buy at Billingsgate or Queenhithe (‘fresh’)	Whiting Plaice Cod Pell Herring [?]	Holland Flanders Norfolk Suffolk
Salt	Billingsgate or Queenhithe	Barrel Fish Buttes’ (no monopoly)	Herring – red Herring – white Red Sprot Salt Eels	Norfolk Essex Low Countries etc.
Salt	Coastal Shipping (via factor)	Salt Fish Scarborough Fish ‘Set’ [boxed] Fish	Cod ‘Harburden’ [Ling?]	Scarborough ‘the north’
Salt	Coastal Shipping (via factor)	Salt Salmon (barrelled)	Salmon	Berwick Scotland
Salt	Land - Pannier	Pannier Salmon	Salmon	River Severn Carlisle
Salt	Land	‘calver Salmon’	Salmon	Thames
Dried	Billingsgate or Queenhithe	Stockfish	Cod - air-dried	Bergen, Norway (via Hanse) Iceland (from c.1409)

The Trade in Fish: Retail

While all denizens, and the Hanse, had the right to import most fish into the City of London, not only was the right to sell by retail restricted to citizens, as with all other goods, but the Fishmongers’ Company had also enforced their exclusive right to retail from a relatively early date. *Liber Custumarum* preserves a dispute from 1320 between Fishmongers occupying properties facing Fishwharf and the wider company, which had tried to enforce restrictions preventing sale of fish by retail from wharves, allowing it only in the defined markets. This appears to be the first definition of the arrangement of the fish trade within the city.²⁵ Letters patent dating from 1364, copied in the Fishmongers’ Company Ordinance Book, declare that:

No man whether foreign or denizen meddle within our realm with the mystery of fishmongers excepting solely those who are of that same mystery of fishmongers ... and all the fish that is and will be in the hands of the said fishmongers in London to

²⁵ Riley, *Liber Custumarum*, 386-406.

be sold in three places that is to say in Bridge Street, Old Fish Street and the place called 'lestokes' except stockfish which pertain to the mystery of stockfishmongers.²⁶

Fish was landed only between Billingsgate and the bridge (to serve the Fishmongers of Bridge Street) and between Dibbleswharf and Freshfishwharf upstream (serving Oldfishstreet). In addition to restrictions regulating quality, strangers bringing fish were required to host with members of the Fishmongers, and not to sell wholesale to anyone but a member of the company. Stockfishmongers could sell their wares anywhere in the city, but were under the same restrictions as anyone else when it came to fresh fish: they could only bring supplies to sell to Fishmongers. This was the basis of all later charters and civic ordinances concerning the sale of fish.. This monopoly meant that the Fishmongers were an easy target for John of Northampton's manipulation of both the city population, and of parliament, despite the fact that prices of fish were as tightly regulated as any other victual, and in reality the Fishmongers' commercial privileges extended no further than those of any other mystery.²⁷

Detail of the commercial activities of the Fishmongers can be found in numerous court cases. Amongst around 300 fifteenth-century Chancery Proceedings cases involving London Fishmongers, around half relate to commercial disputes, rather than real estate or private disputes.²⁸ The Fishmongers' legal opponents in these cases disproportionately included men from the east coast, including Scarborough, Boston, North Norfolk, Yarmouth, as well as the south coast corridor through Surrey and Sussex toward Rye. Furthermore, while fish including cod and herring are frequently mentioned, many cases cite goods including grocery such as figs and raisins, wool and wine – confirming that many Fishmongers also acted as general merchants.²⁹ That Fishmongers were also ship owners is confirmed in numerous cases involving piracy, seizure of goods, or failure to deliver. Thomas Dresforth, Fishmonger of London, was called to court by William Johnson of Southampton for damage to 'a maunde of batery ware' [brass] carried by him from Zeeland to London.³⁰ However it seems likely that their role in key import and export trades had declined since the peak of their influence in the mid fourteenth century, when they counted amongst the top four

²⁶ FishOrd, f. 2.

²⁷ Pamela Nightingale, "Capitalists, Crafts and Constitutional Change in Late Fourteenth-Century London," *Past & Present*, no. 124 (August 1989): 124.

²⁸ TNA C1 calendar via TNA Catalogue.

²⁹ TNA C 1/27/151 (1460-65); C 1/54/392 (1475-1480, or 1483-1485); C 1/17/95 (1407-56).

³⁰ TNA C 1/46/129 (1433-1443, or more likely 1467-1472) Dresforth is otherwise unrecorded.

companies exporting wool and importing wine.³¹ After October 1381 the Fishmongers no longer appear alongside the Grocers defending the interests of the Staple, prompting Nightingale to suppose that their shipping had been badly damaged in the wars with France, perhaps never to recover?³²

Despite the Fishmongers' established retail monopoly, civic custom specifically allowed others to trade wholesale, and to retail fish in certain circumstances. Both the Repertoires of the Court of Aldermen and the Journals of the Common Council record that during Lent members of the Salters' and Chandlers' Companies were licensed to sell both red and white herring by retail, and imply that they did so at other times anyway.³³

Stockfish and the Preservation of Fish

[Stockfish is] hard as lumps of wood, but free of bad flavour, in fact, without much flavour at all ...³⁴

Large volumes, and therefore large profits, were not possible when transporting fresh fish overland, which was labour intensive, or by sail, which was slow. The solution was to preserve the fish, which could be accomplished in one of a variety of ways: salting, smoking, or drying. Stockfish was specifically air-dried cod (Norwegian: *lutefisk*), while salted cod (*klippfisk*) and cured salted herring from Skånia were also common, but distinct products, which were traded by both Fishmongers and Stockfishmongers. The latter trade had greatly declined from their heyday of the great herring fairs by the fifteenth century. Herring was available either salted (white) or smoked (red), and regarded as a relative delicacy, and consumed within a year of purchase, whereas stockfish was often kept in reserve for many years.³⁵ The *Ménagier de Paris* describes the process of both manufacturing and cooking stockfish, illustrating the difficulty its use entailed:

³¹ For discussion of Fishmongers as general merchants and ship owners, see: Stephen J O'Connor, "A Nest of Smugglers? Customs Evasions in London at the Outbreak of the Hundred Years' War," in *London and the Kingdom: Essays in Honour of Caroline M. Barron*, ed. Andrew Prescott and Matthew Davies, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 16 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2008), 293-304.

³² Gwyn Williams, *Medieval London: From Commune to Capital*, 2nd ed. (London: Athlone, 1970), 150,153; Nightingale, "Captialists, Crafts and Constitutional Change," 28.

³³ LMA COL/CC/01/01/005, f.108; COL/CA/01/01/001, f.153.

³⁴ Quotation from Poggio Bracciolini (1436) in Mark Kurlansky, *Cod: A Biography of the Fish That Changed the World* (London: Vintage, 1999).

³⁵ C. Woolgar, " 'Take This Penance Now, and Afterwards the Fare Will Improve': Seafood and Late Medieval Diet," in *England's Sea Fisheries: The Commercial Sea Fisheries of England and Wales Since* (London:

... when it [cod] is taken in the far seas and it is desired to keep it for 10 or 12 years, it is gutted and its head removed and it is dried in the air and sun and in no wise by a fire, or smoked; and when this is done it is called stockfish. And when it hath been kept a long time, and it is desired to eat it, it must be beaten with a wooden hammer for a full hour, then set it to soak in warm water for a full 12 hours or more, then cook and skim it very well like beef.³⁶

The origins of both these major supplies: the northern coast of Norway, and the Øresund region spanning Denmark and Sweden, were increasingly under the control of the Hanseatic League through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. By the 1390s, virtually all imports into ports on the east coast of England were on-board Hanseatic ships. The early fifteenth century saw an upsurge in imports of stockfish from Iceland, primarily through Bristol and Hull, until the Danish crown instituted a licensing system that favoured the Hanseatics in 1426.³⁷

Both saltfish and stockfish had to be ‘watered’ before they could be consumed. In the case of stockfish this was a lengthy process, as described by the *Le Ménagier*. When retailers carried out this process it created a concern that once watered stockfish might be passed-off as fresh cod, prompting strict regulation. Saltfish required cleaning before sale, involving a similar process. A later sixteenth century petition against the non-observance of the Lenten fast complained that fish which the fishmongers had ‘watered for the market rests upon our hands unsold’, confirming that watering removed any preservative effects.³⁸ The Fishmongers’ Ordinances also prescribe that watering could only take place at the markets, confirming that once watered, fish was committed for sale.³⁹ Malt’s Wharf in the parish of St Magnus, donated in 1455 by Richard Malt, Stockfishmonger, is described in the Bridge House rentals as having contained four *domo bassa*, alternately referred to in English as ‘watrynghous’ – surely where this process took place.⁴⁰ While Malt had been a Stockfishmonger, many of the later tenants of the watrynghouses were fishmongers, confirming the equal need to prepare their products for sale.

Chatham, 2000), 42; Alison Locker, “The Role of Stored Fish in England 900-1750AD; the Evidence from Historical and Archaeological Data” (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Southampton: University of Southampton, 2000), 61.

³⁶ Eileen Power, *The Goodman of Paris (Le Ménagier de Paris)* (Boydell Press, 2006), 179.

³⁷ Wendy Childs, “The Internal and International Fish Trades of Medieval England and Wales: Control, Conflict and International Trade,” in *England’s Sea Fisheries: The Commercial Sea Fisheries of England and Wales Since 1300* (London: Chatham, 2000), 34.

³⁸ TNA SP12/77.

³⁹ FishOrd, 31.

⁴⁰ LMA CLA/007/FN/02/004.

That, at least by 1509, Fishmongers and Stockfishmongers both engaged in the retail of stockfish and other preserved fish is confirmed in a 'stock take' reported by the wardens of the Fishmongers to the Court of Aldermen in the January of that year (see below). Each winter saw the Fishmongers, and often the Chandlers and Salters, quizzed as to their stocks of herring, with a view to regulating prices.⁴¹ Clearly herring remained the volume product, and was not the monopoly of either company. Nonetheless, despite the fact that Stockfishmonger row was not mentioned, the Fishmongers held even greater quantities of stockfish than they did of salmon or eels.

Herafter folowith the views and reporte made to this court by the wardens of the Fishmongers of the store that remayneth in their company:

In Old Fish Street:

In White herring	4 score last
in red herring	56 last and 8 cades

In Bruggestrete:

In white herring	4 score 2 last
In rede herring	29 last
	Sum of white and red 247 last and 18 cades

Item in haberdens Lynges and mwadefish [dogfish?] in both streets	4 score and 2 lasts and 5 Cades
--	---------------------------------

streets

In stockfish in both streets	3 score and 1 last et 6 Cades
In salt salmon in both streets	36 last
In salt eels in both streets	3 lasts and 5 bareles
In pypmir eels	1 last. ⁴²

Reconstructing the Constitutional History of the Fishmongers

The Fishmongers were a pivotal, and highly prosperous, craft within the city, yet they lack much of the documentation that provides us with the details of corporate life in many other companies. While the Goldsmiths, for example, preserve their wardens' accounts and minute books from as early as 1334, the earliest muniments of the Fishmongers' Company are a compilation of ordinances and charters dating from 1509, and an assortment of deeds and other property conveyances, some of which date back to the fourteenth century.⁴³ Therefore, to consider the earlier history of the Fishmongers, as is the case with the Haberdashers, it is necessary to rely on the

⁴¹ The regulation of fish prices was quite common, see: Barron, "The Government of London and Its Relations with the Crown 1400-1450," 578.

⁴² LMA COL/CA/01/01/002, f.79; 500 herring (or 1000 sprats) = 1 cade (barrel), 20 cades = 1 last – OED 'cade n.2' cf. Richard Arnold, *Arnold's Chronicle* (Antwerp, 1503), 263.

⁴³ The Ordinance Book is kept at the Fishmongers' Hall, although transcripts and translations exist in GL MS 6747. Deeds in the Fishmongers' collection date back as far as the thirteenth century: GL MS6686-6714.

evidence provided in royal letters patent, charters, civic ordinances and, together with indications that can be gleaned from deeds and wills.⁴⁴

Herbert identified the Fishmongers as one of the earliest of civic guilds, having been amerced in the reign of Henry II, they received early charters from Edward I and Edward II, in addition to the earliest charter preserved by the company, from Edward III.⁴⁵ The document known as the ‘assize of the fisher’, dating from the reign of Edward I, and reproduced in both *Liber Horn* and *Liber Albus*, sets out the first regulations preventing forestalling, the regulation of measures and baskets. Distinctions were drawn between fish that was traded, including that brought by land from the south coast, and that which was to be sold by those who had caught them, which primarily appears to have included shellfish and eels. Several privileges were granted to the trade, including the right to sell salt-fish earlier in the day than foreigners. Most significantly, this document recognises the *laghalmote* [i.e. law-hall-meet], which was held twice each year in two locations (the Bridge and ‘West Fishstreet’), under the same legal basis as the sheriffs’ courts.⁴⁶

Letters Patent of 10 July 1364 reiterate earlier regulations for the fish trade in London: for instance allowing landing of fish only between Billingsgate and the Bridge, or between Dibbleswharf and Freshfishwharf, and retail sale of fish only at Bridge Street, Old Fish Street and the Stocks. Stockfish is excluded, for it ‘pertains to the mystery of stockfishmongers’, who themselves had the freedom to sell their goods anywhere but are prevented from selling other kinds of fish to anyone but ‘fishmongers of the halimote’. Foreigners wishing to sell fish had to take a member of the Fishmongers’ Company as host. Furthermore, the halimote was to elect four members to inspect fish each year. A further charter of 24 July 1364 is apparently preserved only the Fishmongers’ own compilation. This charter builds upon the earlier document by enforcing the recent proclamation that all Londoners should have chosen a single trade by the feast of the Purification in the previous year, and that none other than the ‘fishmongers of the liberty of the halimote of the same mystery’ should ‘meddle’ in the trade.⁴⁷

The tribulations of the reign of Richard II for the Fishmongers’ are well documented, since Northampton’s influence in the parliament of 1382 secured numerous impediments for the Company, including the exclusion of victuallers from civic office and the prohibition of any

⁴⁴ Archer, *The History of the Haberdashers’ Company*, 7.

⁴⁵ William Herbert, *History of the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers of London: Principally Compiled from Their Own Records* (London: J. and C. Adlard, 1837), 11.

⁴⁶ Carpenter, *Liber Albus*, 3, pp.149-155.

⁴⁷ FishOrd, 1-2v; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Ed III, v.13, pp.4-7.

London victuallers from buying freshwater or sea fish outside the city.⁴⁸ These restrictions were short-lived, being repealed in a writ dated November 1383. A further writ to the Mayor proclaimed that ‘no foreigner shall sell fish within the city by retail, but only by wholesale, as in the time of the King’s grandfather’. While reinstating the power of the leyhalmote, it specified that it would now sit twice annually to appoint six persons ‘of their mystery’ to inspect fish (rather than the previous four) these were to include: ‘two from Briggestrete, two from Oldefisshstrete, and two from Stokfisshmongerowe’.⁴⁹ 1405 saw a new charter issued by Henry IV, described in the Fishmongers’ ordinance book as ‘oure corporacion’, which repeated the restrictions on the sale of fish, which were supposedly being flouted, but also stated that ‘almaner of Fysshmongers of the said citie may sell almoner SaltFysshe as well in stokfysshmongers rowe as in iii places afforsaid’.⁵⁰ This formal incorporation probably builds upon lost charters of the 1390s, when the majority of London’s great companies gained formal incorporation in response to the second act of mortmain.

Whereas the charter of 1364 had explicitly excluded regulation of stockfish, as it pertained to the independent Stockfishmongers’ Company, those of 1399 and 1405 included Stockfishmongers as members of the layhalmote. Furthermore, the letter of incorporation, granted by Henry VI in 1433, explicitly refers to the Mystery of Fishmongers in London being ‘in thing and name one body one perpetuall and a common sele for the inteantes and designes of the said mystery’.⁵¹ Henry VII confirmed the same incorporation. The Fishmongers had evidently been instituted as a single institution throughout the fifteenth century, encompassing both the trade of the Fishmonger and of the Stockfishmonger. However, it is clear from other evidence throughout the century that individuals continued explicitly to identify themselves as Stockfishmongers. This continued differentiation surely implies that the union between the companies was somewhat blurred in reality: in the words of Metcalf ‘during the years before these men fell out in 1508, their fathers and grandfathers never quite fell in’.⁵²

The institutional division between the Fishmongers and Stockfishmongers was manifest on the ground, with each marketplace having its own hall or meeting place. Stow describes the halls, evidently based upon his reading of Richard II’s charter of 1399:

⁴⁸ “Statutes of King Richard the Second,” in *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 1377-1504, 1382: cap.9,11.

⁴⁹ Reginald Sharpe, ed., *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London: H - 1375-1399*, 1907, 224-249, 444-451.

⁵⁰ FishOrd, 5v.

⁵¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Henry VI vol.2, p.289; FishOrd, 6v.

⁵² Metcalf, *The Halls of the Fishmongers*, 16.

These two companies of Stockfishmongers and Saltfishmongers, of old time had their seuerall Hals, to wit, in Thames streete twaine, in newe Fishstreete twaine, and in olde Fishstreete twaine: in each place one for either companie, in all sixe seuerall halles, the companie was so great, as I haue read, and can proue by Recordes.⁵³

It seems that Stow was transposing the six wardens for six halls, when in fact each of the fourteenth and fifteenth century charters refer to the three streets each electing two wardens at the halimote. These markets were located in Old Fish Street, Bridge Street and Thames Street (Stockfishmonger Row), as established in the early charters, and confirmed by an inquisition by the Mayor and Aldermen in the reign of Henry V.⁵⁴ Stow's use of the word 'saltfishmonger' to describe the Fishmongers represents confusion, but undoubtedly reflects that much of the fish traded by the Fishmongers was salted. Although the later charters place the Stockfishmongers under the jurisdiction of the halimote, and allow 'almaner' of Fishmongers to engage in the trade in stockfish, halls were not duplicated for both Fishmongers and Stockfishmongers in each location. Instead, members of the Stockfishmongers' Hall in Thames Street were simply allowed to take part in the elections of wardens at the halimote, along with the Fishmongers of the other two streets.

Prior to the acquisition of the current site of Fishmongers' Hall in 1444, it is only possible to confidently locate two of the three assembly places: in Old Fish Street and the Stockfishmongers' Hall. The hall in Old Fish Street is described by Stow:

On the east side of this olde Fishstreete hill, is one greate House, now letten out for rent, which house sometime was one of the Halles, pertayning to the Company of Fishmongers, at such time as they had sixe Hallmotes or meeting places.⁵⁵

This building was leased to the Glaziers to serve as their hall in the early seventeenth century, when the transaction yields some detail, and a plan showing that its main hall measured 44'x24'.⁵⁶ Stockfishmongers' Hall was also let out following the consolidation of the company and its halls. This arrangement was set out in the concord of 1513 between the Fishmongers and Stockfishmongers, which stated that:

By common assent of the saide Fisshmongers and Stokfishmongers that Thomas Partriche stokfisshmonger and also Johanne Cape widow shall have and enjoy the halle called the stockfishmongers halle during theire lives and during the life of the lenger lyver of theym without any rent or ferme therefore to be paide and the

⁵³ Stow, *A Survey of London*, vols. 2 p.1-11, vol.1 p.211-216.

⁵⁴ FishOrd, 14.

⁵⁵ Stow, *A Survey of London*, 2 p.1-11.

⁵⁶ Metcalf, *The Halls of the Fishmongers*, 13.

reparacions therof to be susteyned and borne by the saide Felissip of Fishmongers and stokfissmongers.⁵⁷

The new hall in Thames Street, which eventually replaced all earlier halls, abutted the west of the old Stockfishmongers' hall in the parish of St Michael Crooked Lane. The last private owner of this property, known as Askham's Great Tenement, was Thomas Botiller, a Stockfishmonger, who conveyed it by deed to a group of feoffees composed of Fishmongers and Stockfishmongers in 1432. These feoffees conveyed it to Lord Fanhope, who leased it back for 40 marks rent, funding his chantry chapel at Blackfriars.⁵⁸ The site became the property of the Fishmongers' Company through a specific will drawn up by Fanhope, dated 1437 and proved in 1444. John Cornewall, Lord Fanhope, known primarily as a soldier, was evidently working with Henry Preston, Stockfishmonger, who completed the process of testamentary devise through his own will. There is little evidence to suggest whether the company met in this building at this stage, although the fact that the neighbouring Stockfishmongers' Hall was let out as part of the articles of union in 1513 would suggest that this was in use at least intermittently as the Stockfishmonger Row halimote.

Despite the involvement of Stockfishmongers in the acquisition of the combined hall, September 1508 saw a dramatic change in events, when the Stockfishmongers returned to their own hall and obtaining their own charter of incorporation, soon prompting the Court of Common Council to establish their precedence in civic ceremonies.⁵⁹ Not only did the Stockfishmongers' charter of February 1508 establish them as 'one body and one community, in perpetuity', but it empowered them with:

... full power and authority to search and examine and to do and exercise the full and entire oversight and scrutiny upon and over Stockfish, Saltfish and all other fish [*stockfisshe, saltfisshe et omnibus aliis piscibus*] and also over all other things in any manner touching or appertaining to the said mystery of Stockfishmongers by whatsoever man and occupies the same mystery of Stockfishmongery shall be carried on used and occupied and that the said wardens shall be able according to their discretions to convict, punish and reform all defects which may happen to be found out by them.⁶⁰

Clearly a major dispute had descended into retribution and petty counter-claims. The powers claimed include right of search and correction, by the Stockfishmongers over a large part of the

⁵⁷ FishOrd, 26v.

⁵⁸ Herbert, *History of the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers*, 61-62; Metcalf, *The Halls of the Fishmongers*, 14; S. J. Payling, "Cornewall, John, Baron Fanhope (d. 1443)," in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁵⁹ LMA COL/CC/01/01/011, ff.55, 82v.

⁶⁰ LMA COL/CC/01/01/011 f.59v.

trade of the Fishmongers, probably representing part of a ‘tit-for-tat’ exchange of legal claim and counter-claim. While the Mayor and Aldermen appointed the Common Clerk to attempt to establish the cause of their dispute, his findings are unrecorded.⁶¹ It appears that the conflict stemmed from disagreement over the articles drawn up by the Fishmongers in response to a 1504 act requiring all company ordinances to be approved by the crown.

The ordinances approved in 1509 included details of the elections of wardens, the company clerk and rents, and repeated specific regulations regarding the purchase and resale of various types of fish at different locations. In addition, the ordinances specified that the Company could elect six wardens, who exercised the right of search across the company.⁶² This was the Stockfishmongers’ main concern, as hinted in their petition to the Court of Aldermen on the 27th May 1512:

concerning the matter of an election to be had of 6 wardens at fishmongers hall whereof the said fellowship saving your correction thynketh may not stande with their ancient liberties and usage out of tyme of mynde with their seide craft of stockfishmongers used and also it were contrary to their corporacion to theym by the King our soverign lord father and noble progenitor granted.⁶³

The ordinances did not stipulate how many of these wardens should be Fishmongers or Stockfishmongers, worrying the Stockfishmongers that their influence within the company would be lost as a result of the numerical superiority of their brethren. Previous regulations had specified that two wardens should be elected from each street, practically guaranteeing the Stockfishmongers a third of the offices. The Aldermen evidently did not accept this concern, for the petition is followed by the memorandum:

Also at this court it is decreed that the Fishmongers and the Stockfishmongers shall assemble together tomorrow before my lord maire and maisters the aldermen at the chamber of the yeldhall there to elect and choose 6 wardens ~~for beste the seid fellowships according to the olde use.~~

The deletion of the final remark highlights the continuing disagreement over this point, although elections were duly held the next day and six wardens elected. Yet it was not until the 12th October 1512 that a formal agreement was thrashed-out by twenty-four representatives of the combined companies, and recorded in the Repertories in the following January.⁶⁴ The concord conceded that current masters and apprentices entered into the freedom during the following year would continue

⁶¹ LMA COL/CA/01/01/002, f.108.

⁶² FishOrd, 9v-23.

⁶³ LMA COL/CA/01/01/002 f.135.

⁶⁴ LMA COL/CA/01/01/002 ff.142v, 169v. The concord is noted as being entered into ‘the record’ in the Repertory Rolls, but is only preserved in the Fishmongers’ Ordinance book.

to be known as Stockfishmongers for their lives, but thereafter the title of Fishmonger would be used for all members of the Company, regardless of their specialism or heritage. While this condition was in force, two wardens would henceforth always be Stockfishmongers, evidently assuaging their fears. Yet a further separation of the company took place in 1522 until 1536: beginning roughly the time when this generation of master Stockfishmongers would have been dying-out and, thus, this provision would have expired.⁶⁵

The Internal Structure of the Fishmongers' Company

The ordinances of 1509 comprehensively outline a structure of company staff and office-holders, ranging from porters and rakers to wardens (Table 5.4). Most clearly defined is the role of the warden, six of whom were elected every other year, by the present wardens and indeterminate 'other onest persons'. Each former warden was excluded from re-election in the next six years. Prior to these ordinances, the process appears to have been considerably more democratic, with election being carried out by the assemblies of each street. The role of warden entailed holding a weekly court (for which only one warden was necessary for quorum) and conducting at least a quarterly inspection for corrupt fish. The wardens' role also involved direct supervision of the Company's employees: the clerk, and the porters and rakers (whose tasks are not detailed). The wardens were subject to audit within six months of leaving office. The role of the renter is not described, but its title is self-explanatory, and the fine for refusal to take up the office is less than half that for wardenship, suggesting that it would have been a commensurately less-onerous office, and perhaps a prerequisite for higher office.

The office of master, is described in surprisingly little detail – his election, for example, is not mentioned, although this would probably have been by selection of the wardens. The introduction to the 1509 ordinances refers to Thomas Kneseworth as 'alderman and upper warden', while the ordinances themselves talk throughout of the 'master'. These offices were one and the same. Appendix 7 contains a table of Fishmongers' Company office-holders from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, including those identified through references in deeds and wills. The presence of numerous Stockfishmongers amongst the earlier fifteenth century wardens and feoffees, and the fact that the cause of disagreement between the two Companies in the years 1509 to 1513 was the distribution of wardens between the two companies, suggests that the actual regulations for the practicalities of the trade in fish were accepted prior to their codification in 1509.

⁶⁵ Metcalf, *The Halls of the Fishmongers*, 16; FishOrd, f. 26 - 27.

Table 5.3 - Structure of the Fishmongers' Company's officers and employees (1509 Fishmongers' Ordinances ff.8-21)

Office	Notes
Upper Warden (Master)	
Warden (x 6)	Elected biannually, £10 fine for refusal Excluded for 6 years after term Weekly court, at least one present
Renter	£4 fine for refusal
Clerk	To read ordinances annually Wears livery of last deceased liveryman
Auditors (x 6 or 8)	'most sadde and discrete'
Porters	Report to Master and Wardens
Rakers	Subject to 'olde custum'

The ordinances of 1509 also outline the career structure of the trade, and general regulations for the membership (Table 5.4). Membership of the Company, as with all other London Companies, invariably began with apprenticeship. Apprentices could only be taken on with permission of the wardens. After a term of seven years (which could not be sold or commuted) apprentices were sworn into the Company at a cost of 6s 8d before they were made free of the City at the Guildhall.⁶⁶ The Fishmongers' took a relatively strong hand in regulating apprentices: not only regulating numbers and terms, but in at least one instance removing an apprentice, John Vaysour, from his master Henry Pentyng on account of ill-treatment.⁶⁷ Another apprentice, Edmund Pellet, defended himself against the former master Thomas Bernewell in chancery when he ran away to become a priest, on the grounds that he had only been taught 'shepstrie' [suggesting shipping rather than the full trade of the fishmonger], as well as being ill-treated.⁶⁸

Once in possession of a shop (the ordinances imply that possession of a shop gown was a defining article to qualify as a 'full' Fishmonger) a freeman of the Fishmongers' Company theoretically qualified for the livery, and the combination of costs and privileges that it entailed. Access to the livery was by co-option by the wardens. The charge for membership of the livery was 20s, while the fine for refusing to take it up was 40s, emphasizing that the livery was only for those who had reached a secure financial position. Thereafter, a Fishmonger qualified for election to wardenship. However, the high costs for renting, let alone buying, a property in the neighbourhood (explored in Chapter 4) meant that it was rare for a newly enfranchised Fishmonger to set up shop immediately after completing his apprenticeship. Furthermore, assuming that prosperous Fishmongers had around three apprentices (see below), and two servants who were likely to have been former

⁶⁶ FishOrd, 12-12v.

⁶⁷ TNA C 1/64/110 (1475-1480, or 1483-1485).

⁶⁸ TNA C 1/155/43 (1486-1493, or 1504-1515).

apprentices, there were likely to have been many more free members of the company at any one time than there were masters with their own shops. Those free of the company, but working as a journeyman or a small trader not yet in the livery, often known in other companies as the yeomanry, were called the bachelors. As in many other companies, the Bachelors operated a semi-independent structure in their own right (explored below).⁶⁹

Table 5.4 – Structure of the Fishmongers’ Company members (1509)

Status in Mystery	Remarks
Liveryman	20s charge to common box 40s fine for refusing 20s failing to ride with monarch
Freeman	Quarterage – 16d (8d fine for default)
Factors	To be paid 12d/100 fish bought £5 fine for dishonesty
Servants (Wives and Women Servants)	Must wear shop gown if master absent (4d fine if alone at market)
Apprentices	Only admitted with permission Master Enrolment fee 6s 8d

Layers of Division: The *Fellowships* of the Fishmongers

Reconstruction and analysis of the structure of the Fishmongers depicts a picture of fragmentation and division: between traders in fresh and preserved fish; between liverymen and their lesser colleagues; between shopkeepers and servants or factors and, above all, between those operating the city’s different markets. These multiple layers of division manifested themselves in terms not only of organisations and regulations, but dictated the social world of the mystery.

The organisation of the ‘Bachelors’ of the Fishmongers is especially obscure in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The first reference to the Bachelors’ organisation appears in the will of William Overy, Stockfishmonger, written 1473 and proved in 1480 which included a bequest of 20s to the ‘Bachelors of the Fishmongers in Bridge Street’, and a further 20s to those in Thames Street. Richard Darneton, lessee of a Bridge Street shop and master of one apprentice, made a bequest of 20s to the Bachelors of the Fishmongers in Bridge Street in his will of 1485.⁷⁰ Two further bequests to the bachelors come from fishmongers’ widows: Katheryn Mason (d.1485) left her best maser, a tablecloth and diaper cloth to the Fishmongers’ Company generally, but bequeathed her second best brass pot and a five-yard plain tablecloth to the Bachelors of the Fishmongers in Bridge Street. In 1488 Elizabeth Beaufitz left a ‘standing cup of silver decorated with strawberry leaves’ to the Fishmongers’ Company of Bridge Street and 20s to the Young Men of the Fishmongers "called

⁶⁹ For general discussion see Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages*, 214.

⁷⁰ PROB 11/6 Wattys 38; PROB 11/7 Logge 16.

bachelors" in Bridge Street.⁷¹ The Bachelors' organisations were therefore formally established by the 1480s, and were in receipt of goods such as tablecloths and drinking vessels, and appear to have held feasts from this time, although they would not have been likely to have their own halls. The fact that company masters and widows of high status supported the Bachelors' organisation indicates that this was not a 'renegade' journeymen's association, but an integral part of the life and career structure of the company. Most notable is the fact that all the references to the Bachelors specify a particular street. While bequests were made to both the Fishmongers' Company, and to the specific Fishmongers' of the three streets, references to the bachelors are in each case specific; it would appear that, at this level, each was a separate entity.

All references to the craft of the Fishmongers in London prior to the sixteenth century talked of at least three separate locations: Bridge Street, Old Fish Street and, Stockfishmonger Row or the Stocks. These locations were distinct places where fish was sold – each possessed its own market and, in the cases of Bridge Street and Old Fish Street, their own landing facilities. Herbert explained this duplication as a result of Henry III's diversion of the landing of fish to Queenhithe in order to increase the Queen's toll, causing the Fishmongers to relocate en-mass from their original 'quarter' of Billingsgate. Thereafter, he has it, Edward I restored the right to land fish between Billingsgate and the Bridge, causing a portion of the trade to return to that location.⁷² That the Bridge Street and Billingsgate area was the 'natural' location for the trade in fish is explained by the fact that much fresh fish was brought by land rather than boat, so access to roads from the south coast would have been as important as access to wharves. That the presence of Fishmongers in the west around Queenhithe was an entirely political occurrence seems unlikely given the fact that markets for other victuals, including grain and meat, were duplicated on the western and eastern hills of the city.⁷³

The duplication of marketing and loading facilities in the sale of fish had profound impacts on the Fishmongers. From the earliest of the regulations, each market elected its own wardens with responsibility for regulating the markets. Unwin traces this right to the collection of tolls, which the Fishmongers, along with the Bakers, had apparently already succeeded in appropriating directly in the thirteenth century. This naturally fostered the development of a court to settle associated disputes – the halimote – before the city itself had begun to assert formally its legal privileges over

⁷¹ PROB 11/7 Logge 16; ComReg 7 f129v.

⁷² Herbert, *History of the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers*, 19.

⁷³ Alley, *Hugh Alley's Caveat*, 8.

trade disputes.⁷⁴ Thus each market, with its own legal, as well as practical, infrastructure, was able to function independently.

This division resulted in a company that was almost 'federal' in structure: each of its three arms operated independently, but depended on the larger whole for political representation. There were also social implications. Those making bequests to the Bachelors were quite typical in referring to specific groups of Fishmongers in each of the three streets. Fourteen bequests to the Fishmongers' Company from twelve testators were found amongst the sampled wills. Amongst these one is ambiguous, one talks of only of the Company generally, and two donate equal amounts to the poor of the craft in each of the three streets (John Michell d.1441 left 10 marks to each, Stephen Forster d.1458 donated £10 to each). William Overey included bequests of 40s to the Bachelors of the Fishmongers in both Bridge Street and Thames Street. The remainder specified only the Bridge Street fellowship and its bachelors. These range from Thomas Dursle's 1438 bequest of £5 to the 'Wardens of the Fishmongers of Bridge Street' to the 1495 bequest by Kateryn Clerke of 40s to the Bridge Street 'common box'.

Fishmongers' wills from the parish of St Nicholas Cole Abbey (Old Fish Street) reveals the same trends. Each of the three parishioners of St Nicholas making bequests to the Company in the 1490s addressed their donation to the 'brotherhood and fraternity of the Fellowship of Fishmongers in Old Fishstreet of London'. Thomas Derham (d.1499) was alone in making further bequests to the company as a whole, and was a liveryman – he requested six liverymen should accompany his body to the church.⁷⁵ Although not present in significant numbers, it appears that it was only those of livery status who recognised the whole company in their bequests, while the vast majority of Fishmongers remembered only their specific local fellowship.

The direct mirroring of the pragmatic division of the halimote into the three markets in the social world of the company is natural. The breakdown of the company into smaller units of neighbourhood fellowship, and into fellowships of livery and bachelors not only served to tie together members of the same market community who would have encountered each other on a day-to-day basis, but also provided a manageable sized community in which it was possible for all to know all. The localised Fishmongers' Companies of the fifteenth century therefore certainly functioned as strong communal foci, actively involving a large proportion of their members, or certainly a larger proportion than was possible in some of Archer's discussion of the centralised and 'elitist' Companies of the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

⁷⁴ George Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies of London*, 4th ed. (London: Frank Cass, 1966), 35-8.

⁷⁵ ComReg 8 f.173.

Integrative Functions of the Fishmongers' Company

While the Fishmongers' Company operated on a day-to-day basis as a plurality of localised fellowships, it also existed as a whole throughout the medieval and modern periods. The key to the unity of the company was undoubtedly the halimote. An effective privatisation of legal authority, as argued by Unwin, the halimote allowed an effective enforcement of a monopoly of the wholesale as well as retail trades in fish, as set out in the Company's charters and ordinances. The powers of inspection held by the courts, tied to the prescriptions not only of where fish could be sold by retail but where it could be landed for wholesale trade, allowed the court to enforce a de-facto monopoly, in spite of civic custom, exemplified in a Common Council petition of 1364:

everyone who is enfranchised ought to buy and sell wholesale, within the city and without, any manner of merchandise on which he can make a profit, but he may keep a shop and sell by retail only those goods which belong to his particular mystery.⁷⁶

The legal power of the halimote bypassed such customs, and meant that in order to trade in fish, a citizen had to work within the a market, and therefore neighbourhood, subject to the halimote, and effectively to be a member of the company. This close and functional unity between the practical and legal restrictions also appears to have prompted a close social bond between those participating in that trade.

No record of the operation of the Fishmongers' halimote survives, other than the prescription in the ordinances that it should sit at least once a week, with the presence of at least one warden. Naturally its primary task was the enforcement of the ordinances relating to the practical issues concerning the sale of fish, discussed above. However, as a court directly delegated from the Sheriff's authority, the halimote could hear virtually all civic cases involving its members. It would certainly have dealt with apprenticeship, admission to the freedom and livery, and powers of search, as did, for example, the Court of the Merchant Taylors. However, as Keene noted, the fines and strictures imposed by many such company courts were 'ritualised activities intended to promote a common ideology rather than to compel members to conform to every aspect of the ordinances'.⁷⁷ The localisation of authority in the Fishmongers' Company further strengthened this social role.

⁷⁶ Quoted in: Archer, *The History of the Haberdashers' Company*, 7.

⁷⁷ M. Davies, "Governors and the Governed: The Practice of Power in the Merchant Tailors' Company in the Fifteenth Century," in *Guilds, Society and Economy in London 1450-1800*, ed. I. A. Gadd and P. Wallis (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002), 67-83; Derek Keene, "Livery Companies: What, When and Why," in *Guilds, Society and Economy in London 1450-1800*, ed. I. A. Gadd and P. Wallis (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002), 173.

Many other social aspects of the Fishmongers' Company, as identified by Archer in the case of other Livery Companies in the late fifteenth-century, are obscured by lack of documentation. Feasting, on election and quarter days and at other specific events, was an important method of creating social bonds throughout a company. However, Archer argued that the growth of Companies in the sixteenth century quickly eroded this aspect of their social lives. For example, 1487 was the last year in which the Drapers invited bachelors to their election feast, and the Weavers allowed only Liverymen to attend their greatest feast from 1579 onward. Archer argues that the Fishmongers, with 802 members in 1610, were far too large to have fostered sociability in this way.⁷⁸ Indeed, the first Fishmongers' Court Book records arrangements for their Lammas feast in 1592, including the purchase of 12 gallons of wine from the Vintners, and acquisition of bucks in lieu of fines, implying a small but grand feast, intended for the Court of Assistants.⁷⁹ The ordinances of 1509 specify that the ordinances themselves should be read out every quarter day, or at least every half year, in the 'common hall in the presens of the hole company, or the more partie of them assemble in there common hall'.⁸⁰ Clearly, it was expected that the whole company would, or at least could, attend the quarter feasts simultaneously. However, prior to these ordinances, the company was not centralised in this way. With each branch of the company, and its bachelors, having access to a hall, their own funds and silverware, it seems inconceivable that separate feasts were not held by each of them, albeit perhaps complemented by other 'central' feasts held by the wardens. While this aspect of communal life may have been contracting in the sixteenth century, it appears to have remained vibrant in the case of the Fishmongers throughout the fifteenth.

Archer's explanation for the continued cohesion of London's Livery Companies in the face of increasing size during the sixteenth century rests upon their transition from a focus upon sociability resting upon a general feast, to a social bond based upon welfare. The average company, he calculates, was spending between £600 and £860 per annum on alms to members in the 1590s.⁸¹ Payments to the poor can be found in the late sixteenth century Fishmongers' Court Ledger:

At the same court Thomas Lambe a very poore brother who is become lame came and craved some relief and it is agreed that he shall be relieved with 6s 8d out of the common box upon condition that he shall not trouble this house again.⁸²

⁷⁸ Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, 118, 114.

⁷⁹ GL MS 5570 p.3.

⁸⁰ FishOrd, 21.

⁸¹ Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, 121.

⁸² GL MS 5570 p.5.

This payment, while characteristic of corporate almsgiving, is hardly generous, especially given its once only nature, and is the only such payment within the first eight pages of the ledger. Prior to the sixteenth-century centralisation, the ‘common box’ was mentioned in several fifteenth century bequests to the company, but always specific to each street: for example, Katheryn Clerk’s donation of 40s to the Bridge Street common box.⁸³ Social integration engendered through alms was not a dramatic innovation of the sixteenth century, and may even to have declined in the transition from a personal, localised system, to a company-wide system involving appearance before a court.

Prior to the Reformation, religious observances helped to underpin the sociability of Livery Companies, and the Fishmongers’ were no exception. On one level, the company observed certain functions common to all fraternities, involving the obligation upon members, if summoned, to attend the funerals and anniversary services of fellow members. In practice, this appears to have applied to members of the Livery. Thomas Derham, fishmonger of St Nicholas Cole Abbey, made payment in his will to the ‘six persons in the clothyng[e] [livery] of the fellowship of fishmongers which shall bear my body to the church to be buried’ as well as to the four chaplains of the company.⁸⁴ For this purpose the company owned an elaborate embroidered funeral pall bearing the arms of the company and a scene depicting their patron saint, St Paul, which remains preserved at Fishmongers’ Hall (Figure 5.7).

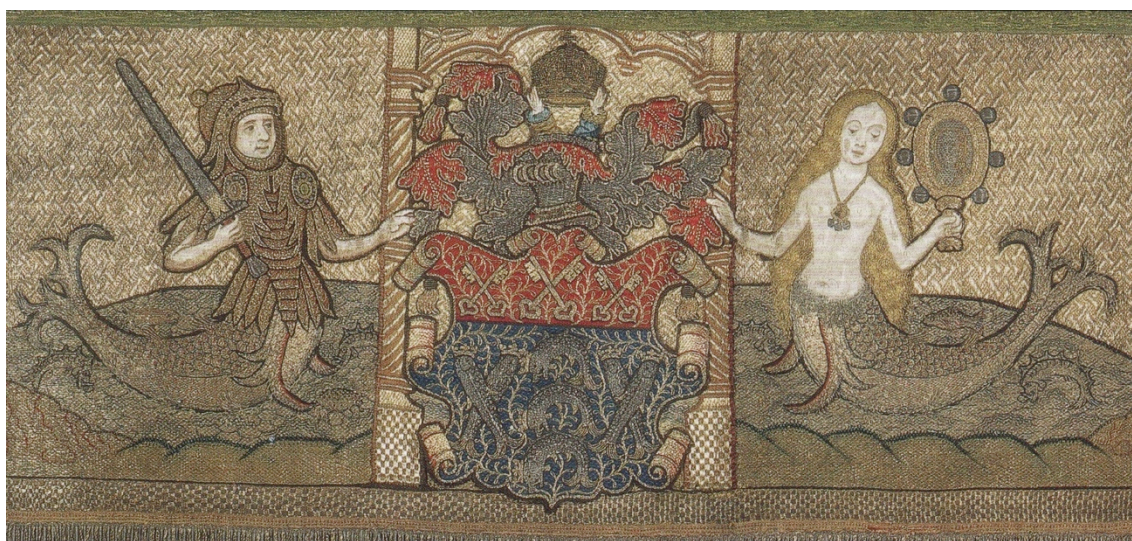


Figure 5.7 – Fishmongers’ Company Pall of Opus Anglicum, c.1520 (© The Fishmongers’ Company)

The clearest description of the religious activities of the company appears in the arrangements surrounding its consolidation following the 1509 ordinances. The January 1513 concord with the

⁸³ PROB 11/10 Vox 26.

⁸⁴ ComReg 8 f.173

Stockfishmongers includes provisions that the combined company would rebuild the chapel of St Peter and St Sebastian at the church of St Michael Crooked Lane, and complete its porch, begun by William Brampton, Stockfishmonger. Furthermore, the agreement also stipulated that:

All obits and anniversaries, which heretofore hath bien used to be kept severally by either of the said craftes or which either of the same craftes are bound to observe that the same obits shalbe from hensforth perpetually kept by the seide Fisshemongers and stockfishmongers and at their cost and charge as it hath bien used in tymes past according to the tenour of the testators' willes.⁸⁵

In the absence of other documentation, it would appear that the 'four chaplains of the company', referred to by Derham, were perhaps not explicitly chaplains of the company, but chaplains employed by the company to carry out these obits and services. Another indenture of 1513, mandating the celebration of an obit for John Palmer, mentions the 'iii prestes belonging to the company', while an article from the will of William Copynges (d.1513) references the 'twee preestes belonging to the saide Felisship of Fishmongers'.⁸⁶ Clearly the priests were not a fixed feature.

The Fishmongers' Company was also closely associated with religious fraternities. Most prominent of these was the fraternity of St Peter of Cornhill, founded in 1402-3. The ordinances of the fraternity describe how each year, following its general placebo and dirige service, the members would

chose iiij other ij sufficeaunt persones of the same fraternitie to be wardeyns of the same fraternitie, to govern and rule it ... of the whiche iiij or ij wardeyns half shlle be chosen of the Fysshemongers, and half of the parish of St Petir aforesaid.⁸⁷

However, the parish of St Peter Cornhill was far from the heart of the Fishmongers' communities, and references to the fraternity quickly evaporate. The close connection between the church and the Fishmongers at the time of the foundation of the guild must be accounted for by the fact that the parson who obtained the fraternity's charter, William Aghton, was a member of a prominent Fishmonger dynasty. That the named brothers and sisters of this fraternity included many other prominent Fishmongers must represent his influence. The other reference to a Fishmongers' fraternity appears in 1422 when Sir Roger Wattes, chaplain, was indicted for adultery with one Alice Soureby, and described as 'celebrating for the Fraternity of Fishmongers in the church of St.

⁸⁵ FishOrd, 52.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 56-57.

⁸⁷ A. J. Horwood, "Statutes and Ordinances of the Fraternity and Guild of St Peter Cornhill and Deeds Relating to Property of the Gild and the Parish.," in *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Appendix to 6th Rept.*, 1877, 412.

Magnus the Martyr'.⁸⁸ This is the only reference to such a fraternity, and probably represent confusion with the fraternity of Salve Regina, many, but far from all of whose members were Fishmongers and Stockfishmongers. It would certainly appear that the Fishmongers had no strong, distinct, religious fraternity, such as the Taylors Fraternity of St John the Baptist. Instead, their intense localism appears to have fostered closer involvement with their respective parish churches rather than any perceived need to form a company-wide religious identity.

More evidence can be found regarding informal social relations around the company than can be discovered regarding its formal social activities. While those of highest status within the company made bequests to the company as a whole, in addition to, or instead of, bequests to its local constituent fellowships, the number of Fishmongers actually exhibiting an economic interest in more than one of the market areas was extremely limited. Many Fishmongers and Stockfishmongers mention property or other interests in more than one neighbouring parish in wills and deeds. William Overy was far from being the only Stockfishmonger with property in both the parishes of St Magnus The Martyr and St Michael Crooked Lane. In the west Thomas Padyngton was quite typical in possessing interests in both St Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street and St Nicholas Cole Abbey.⁸⁹ These, however, all comprise the same market areas, suggesting affiliation to, and social contact with, only one of the local fellowships of the Fishmongers' Company. The only Fishmongers to express interests in both eastern and western markets were Thomas Wilford (d.1405), who possessed property in St Mary Somerset and St Margaret Bridge Street; Roger Crouche (d.1414) with interests in St Magnus and St Nicholas Olave, and Richard Whaplode (d.1480), who possessed property in both St Nicholas Cole Abbey and St Margaret Bridge Street.⁹⁰ While many merchants, including Fishmongers, possessed land in seemingly random locations throughout the city (see Chapter 4), localism was clearly the norm for the day-to-day activities of the Fishmongers.

⁸⁸ Reginald Sharpe, *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London*, I, p.280.

⁸⁹ PROB 11/6 Wattys 38; PROB 11/Logge 14.

⁹⁰ HR 134 (100), 144 (58); ComReg 6 f308v.

5.3 The Bridgehead as a 'Trade Quarter'?

The story of the Fishmongers' *Fellowships* in the Bridgehead is simultaneously one of community, and of isolation. Despite the fact that the Fishmongers and Stockfishmongers both dealt in fish, the nature of their trades, as dealers in products requiring specialised storage, retailing and especially supply-chains, meant that they had little in common practically, and sought to retain independence from one another throughout the fifteenth century. This emphasizes the fact that, especially toward the earlier part of the fifteenth century, these trade guilds were unambiguously 'communities of interest'; representing and bringing together those whose day-to-day business interests brought them into contact. However, the changing patterns of occupational residency toward the end of the fifteenth, and into the sixteenth centuries, provide an intriguing example of the transition from specialist *craft*, to commercial *company*.

Considering the clustering of testators of the Fishmongers' Company across the three sample periods, it emerges that there was relatively little movement of Fishmongers from their early fifteenth century clusters (Figure 5.8). Roughly proportionate numbers of Fishmonger testators were to be found in the parish of St Margaret Bridge Street in each of the three periods (allowing for the general increase in Commissary Court wills as the century progressed), while the numbers in the parish of St Magnus declined from a peak in the mid-century. The western cluster of Fishmongers reveals somewhat more movement, with a notable decline in numbers in the parish of St Mary Magdalen from mid-century, while St Nicholas Cole Abbey grew markedly between the mid-century and the closing decades of the fifteenth century.⁹¹ Most notable is the lack of outliers before the mid fifteenth century, indicating that while clustering around the markets remained a factor throughout the century, it was far stronger in the earlier period. Conversely, the presence of Fishmongers in St Mary Woolchurch only prior to 1420 could be indicative of their declining role in the wool and cloth trades.

Pamela Nightingale demonstrated that, in the case of the Grocers' Company, following the decline in land values associated with the fourteenth century plague, concentrations of company members around their 'centre of gravity' at Soper Lane declined drastically, and soon Grocers could be found in thirty-five different parishes.⁹² Nightingale suggests that a change in interpretation of the Law Merchant contributed to this (or perhaps was symptomatic of it?). Whereas traditionally, under the

⁹¹ The lack of Fishmonger testators from St Nicholas Cole Abbey before 1440 appears questionable, and might represent a shift in probate jurisdiction.

⁹² Pamela Nightingale, "The Growth of London in the Medieval English Economy," in *Progress and Problems in Medieval England*, ed. Richard Britnell and John Hatcher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 101.

Law Merchant, three witnesses of the same craft were required to verify a debt, in the 1460s cases such as one in Chancery between William Hayle, Grocer, against Thomas Bate, Haberdasher, begin to refer to twelve 'simple persons' being employed as witnesses.⁹³ Changes such as this, combined with relatively depressed property values, made it possible for merchants and artisans to move throughout the city to reside and trade in locations that they considered most expedient, rather than those defined by custom. In response (or partially enabling this), the nature of the Companies' social contract with their members altered, as argued by Archer.

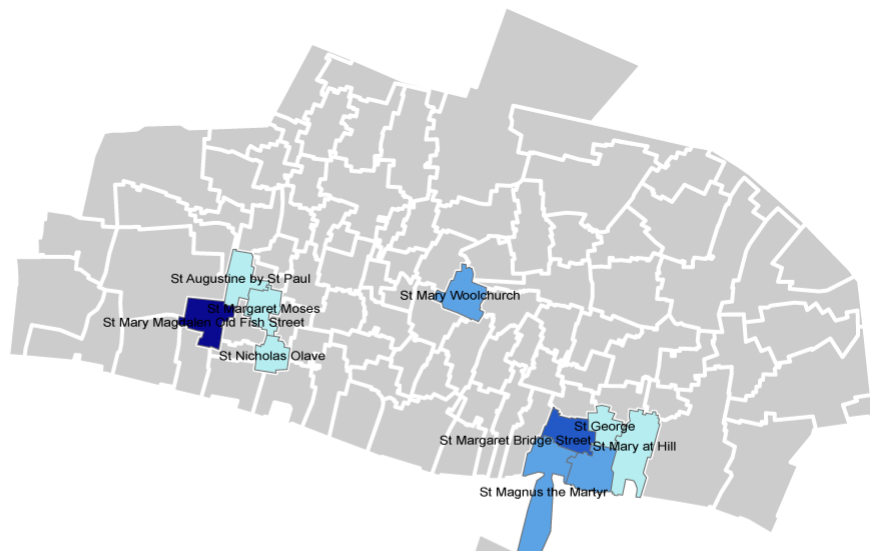
The Fishmongers do not appear to reflect this narrative of the disappearance of trade quarters during the fifteenth century. Fishmongers could only be found as testators in eighteen parishes *throughout* the fifteenth century (Figure 5.8). Thus, in contrast to the perceived general pattern of dramatic breakdown of 'trade quarters' witnessed in other Companies, and related growth of a more 'capitalist' mercantile economy in the run up to the sixteenth century, in this case the sense of a trade quarter was retained to some extent. The progressive spread of Fishmongers from their early fifteenth century haunts is subtle, but distinct. Rather than representing any dramatic atomisation of Company members, it betrays the result of both declining customary control by the Company over its members, and the fact that agglomeration benefits were nonetheless to be had from location in these general areas. The centralisation of the Company, paradoxically, removed the intensely local emphasis and control that had been characteristic of the Fishmongers, allowing individuals greater freedom to follow their own commercial decisions. Access to the water, both for loading and watering of stockfish, as well as to markets, meant, however, that they would have been foolish to move too far away from the epicentres of their company's activities.⁹⁴

The day-to-day life of the trade of Fishmongers was unambiguously localised in nature – a practical reminder of the importance of 'neighbourhood' – commercial and pragmatic considerations dictated that in order to go about their trade, individuals were bound to encounter a large proportion of their neighbours, whose very presence in the area was also heavily influenced by their trade. This integration into the fabric of the neighbourhood went even deeper, influencing the very social composition of the area, and perpetuating itself across generations: the past practically imposing itself on the present.

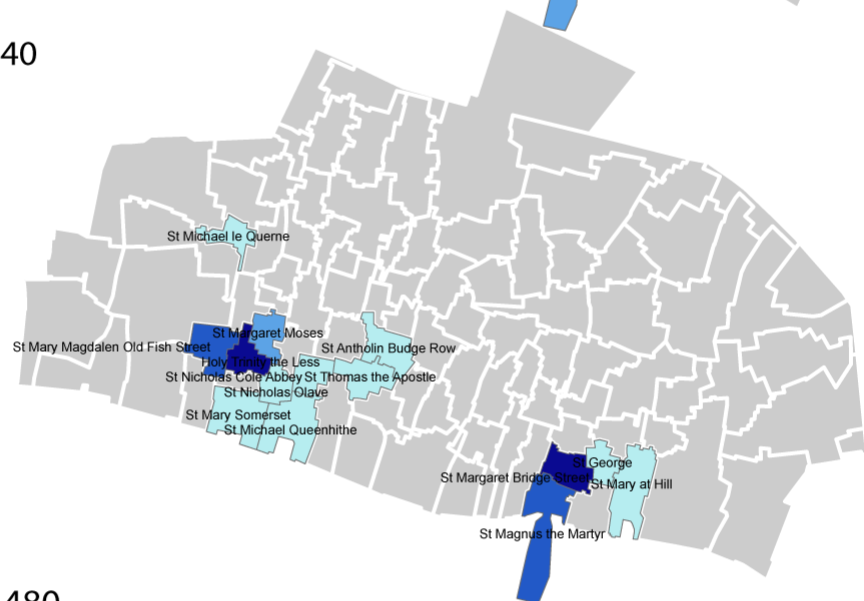
⁹³ Nightingale, *A Medieval Mercantile Community*, 32.; TNA C1/46/38

⁹⁴ Compare with the 'paradox' in modern geography of businesses continuing to collocate when technology ostensibly allows for their dispersal: Ann Markusen, "Sticky Places in Slippery Space: A Typology of Industrial Districts," *Economic Geography* 72, no. 3 (July 1, 1996): 293-313.

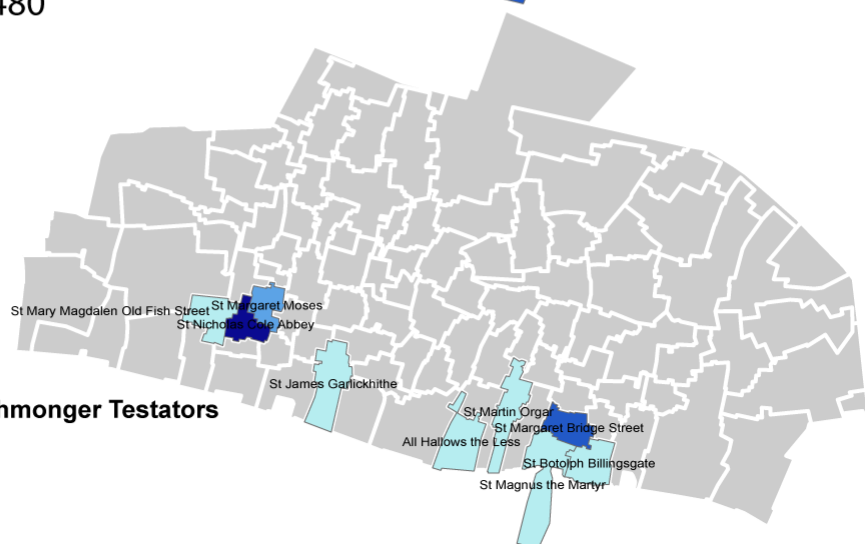
1400



1440



1480



Legend

Number of Fishmonger Testators

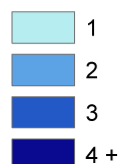


Figure 5.8 – Distribution of Fishmonger testators in the Commissary Court, expressed showing both total numbers of wills, and the proportion of those in each of the three sample periods of the fifteenth century.

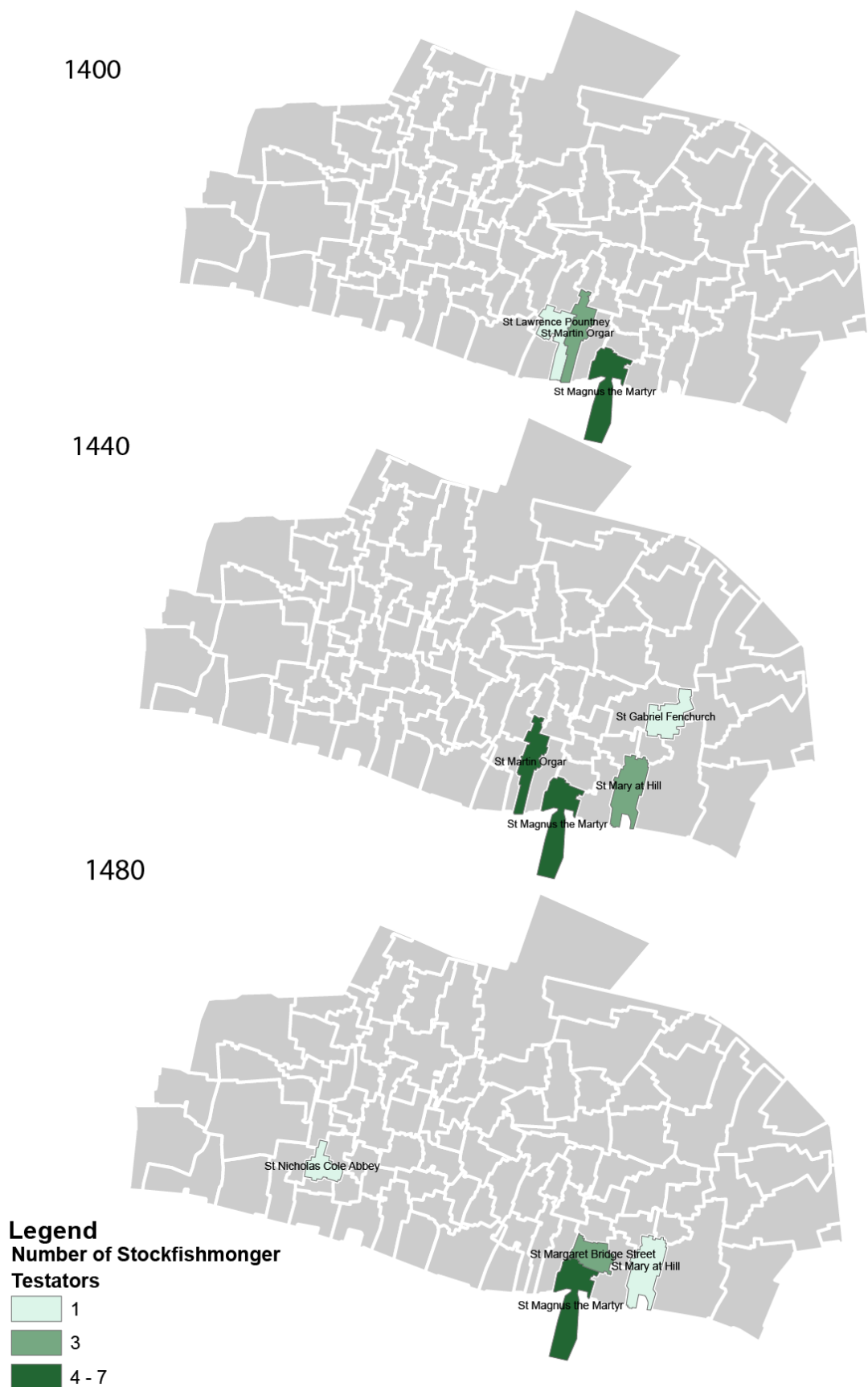


Figure 5.9 Distribution of Stockfishmonger testators in the Commissary Court, expressed showing both total numbers of wills, and the proportion of those in each of the three sample periods of the fifteenth century.

5.4 Status and Continuities: Company, Family and Hinterland

Fishmongers' family connections outside the city can sometimes be traced through references in wills to property held in other locations, or bequests to churches where testators were born. The latter is uncommon, especially amongst male testators, and reveals the birthplace of only two Stockfishmongers and a single Fishmonger from the samples in this study. Broadening consideration to include all locations outside London mentioned in wills, which may include property holdings and other business interests, it is possible to observe some clear patterns in the case of fishmongers. Particularly common are interests in Essex, North Norfolk and the Wash, and the corridor between the Sussex and Kent coasts and the city, although there are many outliers (Table 5.5). The predominance of names and locations reflecting ties to the south and east coast trade routes already outlined highlights the social aspects to these established networks, with country families connected with the trade in fish evidently following these ties in their own patterns of migration.

Table 5.5 - Locations mentioned in wills of fishmonger and stockfishmonger testators, organised by trade and date of will (locations explicitly referred to as place of birth in **bold**)

Name	Non London Location	London Parish	Will Date	Occupation
Walter Kyk	Herts: Pelham	St Margaret Fish St	1405	Fishmonger
Nicholas Wollebergh	Essex: Chelmsford; Surrey: Caterham, Notefield	St Nicholas Cole Abbey	1407	Fishmonger
John Sawyere	Essex: Writtle; Colchester; Rossen?	St Magnus The Martyr	1410	Fishmonger
John Profyt	Kent: Hever	St Margaret Fish St	1415	Fishmonger
John Perveys	Berks: Abingdon	St Margaret Fish St	1434	Fishmonger
John Ingram	Norfolk: Happisburgh, Ingram; Suffolk: Lowestoft	St Nicholas Cole Abbey	1441	Fishmonger
Thomas Badby	Warwicks: Chaldeshunt	St Margaret Fish St	1445	Fishmonger
William Rydere	Kent: [Fulkford?]	St Mary At Hill	1449	Fishmonger
William Cobbe	Herts: Sawbridgeworth	St Nicholas Cole Abbey	1451	Fishmonger
William Turke	Essex: Hockley; Fambridge	St Magnus The Martyr	1459	Fishmonger
Robert Darlyngton	Durham: Albrough[?]	St Margaret Fish St	1480	Fishmonger
Thomas Padyngton	Surrey: Tandridge	St Nicholas Cole Abbey	1484	Fishmonger
William Branktre	Essex: Pleshey	St Nicholas Cole Abbey	1485	Fishmonger
William Brampton	Hunts: Brampton;	St Magnus The Martyr	1405	Stockfishmonger
John Blofeld	Norfolk: Blofield	St Magnus The Martyr	1416	Stockfishmonger

John Michell	Sussex: Itchingfield	St Magnus The Martyr	1441	Stockfishmonger
Richard Malt	Surr: Lingfield	St Magnus The Martyr	1455	Stockfishmonger
William Overey	Leics: Shenton	St Magnus The Martyr	1473	Stockfishmonger
John Murton	Kent: Bexley	St Magnus The Martyr	1487	Stockfishmonger
Henry Smyth	Lincs: Boston; Middx: Haringey; Essex: Benfleet	St Magnus The Martyr	1489	Stockfishmonger

One family provides a case study of many of the trends seen amongst apprenticeship and immigration. Originally from the village of that name near Spalding in the Lincolnshire fens, brothers John and Robert Whaplode arrived in London in the closing decades of the fourteenth century. Their east coast origin explains their connection with the trade in fish. John became a successful Fishmonger, owning lands in St Margaret Bridge Street and in St Nicholas Cole Abbey, in Old Fish Street. When he died in 1400, he appears to have been childless, and at least some of his property found its way to his brother, Robert, who was a hosteller in the parish of St Margaret. Robert was recorded in 1421 and 23 as a hosteller at the Bell, and later the Star.⁹⁵ His son, also Robert, was hosteller at the Swan at this time. All three taverns were located in Bridge Street. The elder Robert, while a hosteller, counted prominent local Fishmongers amongst his associates, including Thomas Dursle and William Downe, to each of whom he left a money rent from his properties.⁹⁶

Therefore, when seeking to apprentice his eldest son Richard, it was only natural for Robert Whaplode to make use of connections he had clearly built up from his local position, serving members of Fishmongers' Company their ale. His position in local society as a hosteller clearly gave him a privileged position with regard to social contacts, as exhibited in his prominence in the witnessing of local deeds (Chapter 8), so finding a local Fishmonger willing to take his son as apprentice would both easy, and natural, for him.

Richard's son, William, continued the precedent set by his father, becoming a fishmonger. However, while a member of the Company, William was again associated with the Star Inn on Bridge Street, the same inn that had been occupied by his grandfather, Robert. Far from being simply another tavern, the Star appears to have functioned as the de facto Hall for Fishmongers' Company in Bridge Street from relatively early in the fifteenth century, and certainly by the time that it was leased to the trustees of the Company in 1488. Priscilla Metcalf suggests that this

⁹⁵ Thomas and Jones, *CalPMR*, 1413-1437, 139, 158.

⁹⁶ HR 159(13).

connection may have originated with something akin to a *stammtisch* [socially enforced ‘regulars’ table’].

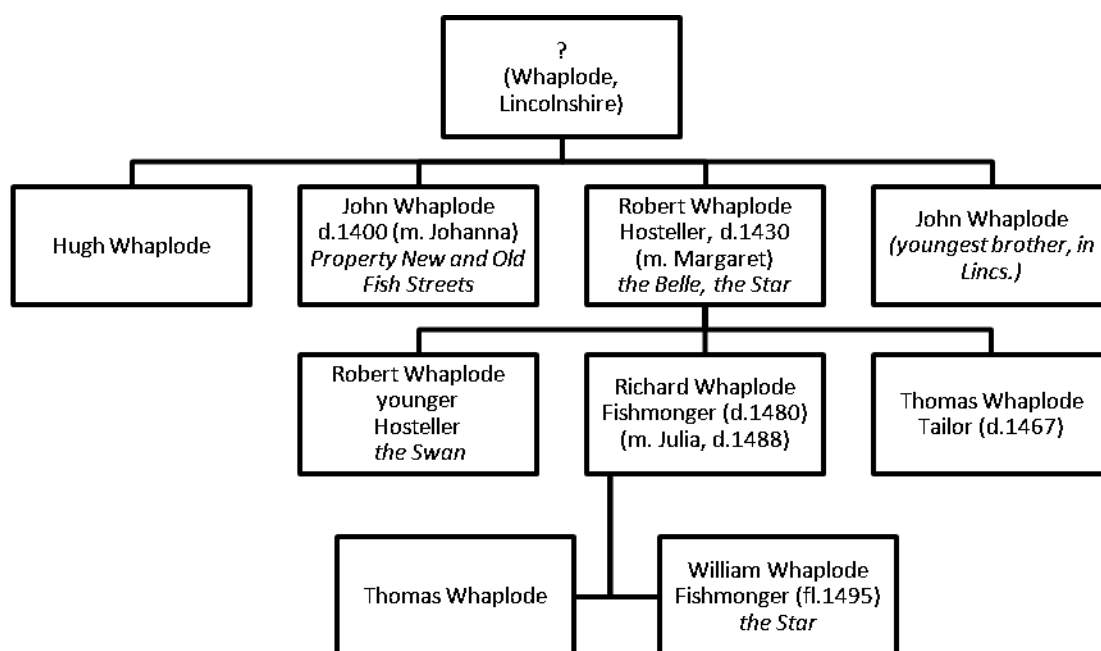


Figure 5.10 – Family tree of the Whaplodes of Bridge Street, reconstructed from wills and deeds.

The story of the Star during the fifteenth century was intimately bound with the Fishmongers’ Company, beginning with the death of Fishmonger Walter Doget in 1403 and its sale by his son and executor, John, to a group of local feoffees. At this time it was occupied by a brewer, Robert Forneux. At some point before 1425, this group conveyed the tenement to another group of feoffees including the rector of St Margaret’s, Sir Henry Shelford: this was when the Star first appears to have entered the hands of Robert Whaplode, Hosteller, who surely must have been the beneficiary of the legal arrangement, and traded there. Following Whaplode’s death in 1430, his feoffees conducted a series of leases and grants of rents upon the property, before selling it to a further group comprised of chaplains, clerks, country gentlemen and even a Royal Justice, in 1442.

The Star was leased to a group of Fishmongers including William Whaplode, grandson of Robert in 1488. In 1498 the survivor of the 1442 feoffees, Edmund Watton, gentleman from Adyngton in Kent, conveyed the tenement to a further group, comprised of William Palley, Stockfishmonger, and several gentlemen from Kent for the sum of 230 Marks. The Kent feoffees, all connected with East Peckham (near Tonbridge and the road to Hastings), included the prominent Sheriff of Kent, Sir Alexander Culpepper.⁹⁷ After numerous intermediate quitclaims and grants, in 1505, the Kent

⁹⁷ Culpepper was a participant in the October 1483 rising against Richard III, sheriff of Kent in 1500 and 1507, and father of Thomas Culpepper, gentleman of the privy chamber, executed as the supposed lover of Queen Katherine Howard. Peter Fleming, “Culpeper family (per. c.1400–c.1540),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

gentlemen, Richard Broke, Reginald Pekham and Alexander Culpepper, conveyed the Star to the Fishmongers' Company, in the form of its twelve feoffees. Amongst the feoffees was none other than William Whaplode, who was still in occupation under the terms of the lease of 1488, and although a fishmonger, undoubtedly still traded at the Star as an inn.

The example of the Whaplodes illustrates several local patterns: both the stability of occupation between generations, and the aspirational moves upward in the company hierarchy. Above all, it illustrates the integral place of the Fishmongers' Company as a social and economic stimulus to other local traders. Such was the generational stability, or even 'family' connections within the company, that the 1509 ordinance book bears the inscription:

Of fysshemongers Written by me Rychard Felde the sone of maister John felde then
being warden and I saide Rycharde being of the age of xii yeres at the finishing here
of.⁹⁸

John Felde had been a prominent local member of the Bridge Street Fishmongers throughout the latter years of the fifteenth century, and was clearly at the heart of the community. That the important task of compiling this collection of the company's charters and ordinances – the very proof of its legal existence – was entrusted to a twelve-year-old boy might prompt speculation into the close relationship between the leading members of the community of the Fishmongers' Company.

⁹⁸ FishOrd, 23.

5.5 The Reciprocal Relationship: Neighbourhood and Craft

Certain trades were visibly dominant within the neighbourhood of the Bridgehead: primarily the Fishmongers, Stockfishmongers, as well as the Grocers and Ironmongers. The predilection to locate in certain areas represent the effects of agglomeration benefits including both traded interdependencies, such as access to supplies and locations where customers would expect to be able to buy products, as well as untraded interdependencies, such as the presence of a skilled workforce and social ties.⁹⁹

The physical and administrative environment of London ensured that commercial interests were intimately tied to place. London's markets and transport facilities meant that those crafts and industries that were to be found in the neighbourhood were 'naturally' located there. Like the haberdashers and cutlers of London Bridge, who took advantage of extensive passing trade, the Fishmongers held shop at the location that gave them most advantageous access to both their waterborne and overland supply-chains, and the means to wash and reconstitute their products. Hostellers proliferated in the neighbourhood, providing the ancillary services to the merchant aspects of many of the local trades, and visibly clustered around markets and other commercial foci. Commercial interest again equated to place. The preconditions that favoured the development of a neighbourhood encompassing this distinctive collection of trades were partially defined by topography, and partially by civic custom and infrastructure. These had become reciprocal: market regulations were largely defined by the company members who participated in those markets, and thus privileges and locations became entrenched, while the provision of infrastructure such specialised structures for the washing of fish, further encouraged the continuance of trade localism and the correlation of communities of interest and place.

Nightingale, discussing the Grocers' Company, emphasized the importance of localism in the early formation of the mystery and its associated fraternity around Soper Lane, especially with regard to market regulation and the execution of the Law Merchant. This provides a direct analogy with the Fishmongers' hallimote. However, Nightingale argues that the Black Death, along with relaxed requirements for witnessing in Law Merchant cases, allowed enterprising merchants to break down established trade quarters, moving instead to sites best suited to their trade.¹⁰⁰ This tendency, combined with the trend in the sixteenth century for company membership to diverge from

⁹⁹ Neil M. Coe, Philip F. Kelly, and Henry Wai-Chung Yeung, *Economic Geography: A Contemporary Introduction* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2007), 137-9.

¹⁰⁰ Nightingale, *A Medieval Mercantile Community*, 32, 199.

practised trade, even in artisanal companies, noted by Archer, are reflected in this chapter.¹⁰¹ This transition in the nature of the Companies, from representing specific craft interests and even specific markets, to a centralised, generalist and perhaps remote commercial organisations, can be seen both in demographic trends, and in the internal history of the Fishmongers.

The relative dominance of the most common companies amongst the local population decreased in over the course of the fifteenth century, in both relative and absolute terms. By the 1480s a much wider range of occupations is found amongst testators than in the same figures from the 1400s and 1410s. This confirms Nightingale's findings in the case of the Grocers, witnessing the decreasing nucleation of many of London's crafts, reflecting a general prioritisation of commercial concerns over customary locations. More generally, the number of Companies in the City increased as smaller guilds such as the Pinners gained formal recognition, and as increasing wealth brought will-writing, and thus historical record, into the lives of those amongst traditionally humble crafts. The population of the neighbourhood was thus beginning to grow in absolute terms, to witness the birth and increasing recognition of smaller crafts, but also the decline of traditional forms of association based upon the intense and intimate clustering of specialised trades.

Nonetheless, the concentration of Fishmongers in the Bridgehead remained distinct. The tie between the Fishmongers and the area between St Michael and Billingsgate remained clear even into the nineteenth century with the construction of Billingsgate Market hall in 1875, which closed only in 1982. Likewise, the Stockfishmongers maintained their traditional focus in and around St Michael Crooked Lane on Thames Street at least until the mid part of the sixteenth century. This chapter suggests that the fish trades were somewhat of an exception to the general trends of social dispersal of crafts through the fifteenth century. Unlike the Grocers, whose only pragmatic concerns in the location of their trade (if tradition were disregarded), were access to transport and warehousing, and the benefits of agglomeration, the Fishmongers had very specific requirements. Their markets, where inspection was imperative, and practical need for fresh water, continued to encourage their co-location in a manner perhaps more befitting of Butchers than of other mercantile guilds. Therefore it appears that, of all fifteenth century London neighbourhoods, the Bridgehead, because of its unique trade structure, could have vied for status as the most integrated and occupationally homogenous of all.

¹⁰¹ Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, 115.

6 Parochial Management and Parochial Community

The influence of the church on the life of a Londoner may not have been all pervasive, but it was unavoidable. Attendance at mass on Sundays and feast days was only a small part of the local religious activity of a fifteenth-century Londoner: other services were constantly on-going, including general minds, anniversaries or masses for late friends, neighbours or loved ones, or in the form of meetings and services for their fraternity or specific devotion.¹

This chapter explores the relationships between the parish churches of the Bridgehead, their personnel, their parishioners and the communal opportunities that they provided. Piety was not merely a private matter for the fifteenth century Londoner: acts of mercy and strategies for commemoration were primarily located in the local community of the parish. Being a focus of attention for the dead served to reinforce the role of the parish as a centre of attention for the living. Not only was the parish the canonically defined place of worship for its parishioners, and the place of the burial of its dead, but it was the place to which individuals could go in order to remember their departed spouses, friends and neighbours. Furthermore, it was the place where those who had departed could call upon the living through the services that they had instituted. It was the duty of the living to maintain and facilitate these services, not only out of piety and respect, but also out of a sense of mutual obligation and regard for their own salvation. They knew that, soon enough, they too would depend on such services. Parish churches also served as local social venues for meetings and the transaction of business, while local clergy could provide education, emotional and spiritual support, and literate assistance.

¹ Norman Tanner and Sethina Watson, "Least of the Laity: The Minimum Requirements for a Medieval Christian," *Journal of Medieval History* 32, no. 4 (2006): 409.

6.1 The Parish Institution and its Clergy

Each of the four parish churches varied in terms of their administrative structure as well as in physical form. All were rectories, in the sense that the owner of their advowson appointed a rector, who was in receipt of all tithes (appointments are tabulated in Appendix 5). However, the rector could either be resident, or absent with a parson installed in his place. Furthermore, in apparently all cases a ‘parish priest’, or curate, was installed, delegating still further the primary responsibility for practical pastoral care.

Table 6.1– Advowson of Parishes, from Hennessy (1898)

Parish	Advowson
St Botolph Billingsgate	Dean and Chapter St Paul’s
St Magnus the Martyr	Alternately: Abbot and Convent of Bermondsey and Dean and Chapter of Westminster
St Margaret Bridge Street	Dean and Chapter Westminster Abbey
St Mary at Hill	Private

Three of the four parishes were in the patronage of monastic institutions; only St Mary at Hill was in private ownership. In the fourteenth century this advowson was included in the grant of tenement SMH CD6 to Hugh Despenser. Between 1411 and 1431 it was included with grants of SMH E3, a property that John Olney left in his will to be sold by the parish to fund charitable acts on his behalf, along with another that was to fund a chantry.² However, Beatrice Thorpe, one-time widow of Richard Strykland, grandson of John Olney, claimed both properties as her dower when marrying Richard Page in 1463. In 1467 she maintained her right of preferment and tried to appoint Thomas Wylkynson to the post on the basis that the right was attached to ‘a certain messuage’ that she owned in the parish, and that she had successfully appointed the previous rector Thomas Preston.³ While the case in Common Pleas ends without conclusion, it appears that the Bishop was successful in contesting this, and his nominee, William Wild, served as incumbent until at least 1502.⁴ Nonetheless, Olney’s chantry never appears in the accounts of St Mary at Hill, and certainly does not appear in the chantry certificates, while disputes over the ownership of this, and

² HR 37(76); HR 138(56).

³ TNA CP40/825 rot.506; C1/31/39; This may be the tenement referred to as ‘le Lambe’, although another ‘Lambe on the Hoop’ existed in the parish at SMH W3A.

⁴ George Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1898), 305. Wild was certainly in office from at least 1472, being referred to in HR W203/11.

other tenements from Olney's bequest ran from the 1460s into the incumbency of the following rector, William Atcliff.⁵

It is far from atypical that the remaining three parishes in this study were under the control of monastic institutions. Where this was the case the position of rector was often used as much for patronage as much as for the clerical needs of the parish. The process of preferment was evidently a highly political one: monasteries often came under political pressure to use this patronage to the advantage of their benefactors.⁶ Surviving in a fifteenth century compilation is a letter from Henry VI, dated between 1434-44, calling upon the Abbot of Westminster to appoint Thomas Gascoigne, King's chaplain and chancellor of the University of Oxford, to the rectory of St Magnus's on the basis of his 'vertues [and] greet conyng'.⁷ In this case the King was not successful, for the only rector of St Magnus' to die in office in this reign, David Price (d.1438), was one of Westminster's nominees, meaning that it was in fact the turn of Bermondsey Abbey to make the nomination (duly appointing William Fallan, who served for twenty years).

Rectors, Parsons and Parish Priests

Appendix 4 records the incumbents of each of the sample parishes, as recorded in the Bishop of London's registers. At St Botolph and St Mary at Hill several of the recorded incumbents, however, do not generally appear in other records, suggesting that at least some were absentees or pluralists. In all of the parishes there is evidence that the everyday cure of souls was provided by an employee of the rector, generally known as 'parish priest' or 'parson'. Thomas Ryvell's will of 1497 makes a bequest to St Mary at Hill so 'that Parson William have his paye till Christmas'.⁸ Here it is clear that 'parson' is used to describe the salaried priest rather than the rector.

Thomas Atherston emerges as rector of St Mary at Hill between 1408 and his death in 1419, yet he does not feature in Episcopal sources as holding the benefice.⁹ Atherston was evidently translated from St Margaret Bridge Street, where had held office since 1400. The lack of record in the registers obscures his preferment, but given the history of the advowson, it is likely that in 1408 John Olney would have had control of the appointment. Perhaps Olney had been impressed with the local

⁵ TNA C1/224/62.

⁶ Peter Heath, *The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation* (London: Routledge, 1969), 31.

⁷ Cecil Monro, *Letters of Queen Margaret of Anjou and Bishop Becketon and Others*, Camden Society no. 86 (Westminster: Printed for the Camden society, 1863), 53.

⁸ PROB 11/11 Horne 12.

⁹ ComReg 3 f31v.

rector from St Margaret's and 'poached' him for his own parish. Another case of rectors holding more than one parish within the neighbourhood is William Cokks or Cokkys, rector of St Margaret Bridge Street from 1471 until 1512, and appointed to the benefice of St Magnus by Bermondsey Abbey in 1479/80, only to resign in 1480/1, evidently preferring not to engage in pluralism. The majority of rectors incumbent for more than a short term appear in local records as representative of the church in bequests, or as executors or overseers of wills (see below); however, evidence of their contact with parishioners is distinctly scant when compared with the other clergy present within the parish.

Parish Clerks and Other Church Staff

Parish clerks were a standard feature of parish churches in the fifteenth century, but were paid from rates collected from the parishioners by the wardens, rather than being the responsibility of the rector. Originally, the office was known as 'Holy Water Clerk': this term is used in the will of Hugh Clerk of St Magnus the Martyr, who died in 1401.¹⁰ Thereafter the offices of both 'master' and 'sub' parish clerk appear to have been present in all the parishes. While originally intended as an office requiring only minor orders for those on their way to a clerical career, in the fifteenth century it was established as a relatively standard lay occupation.¹¹ The parish clerks of the neighbourhood each appear over long periods, while there is ample evidence that many were married, confirming the nature of the post as a permanent job rather than a rung on the clerical ladder.

Parish clerks were frequent recipients of small doles to attend funerals (often 8d when chaplains were paid 12d) and were generally considered members of the parish staff. The churchwardens' accounts from St Mary at Hill include detail of the payments collected for their employment. The accounts of 1483-4 give a breakdown of contributions, collected from a wide range of parishioners, ranging from 16d to 1d (normally these were recorded in a separate roll). Evidently, these were collected in four roughly equal parts: at Christmas and the feasts of the Annunciation, St John the Baptist and of St Michael. Most years saw payment of 53s 4d annually to the senior clerk, and 33s 4d to the sub-clerk (in the late 1480s-90s, William Edmund and Alexander Worsley, respectively).¹² That their payments were usually grouped on the page with 'the children' of the choir hints of musical aspects to their roles. Although clerks had no direct responsibilities for the cure of souls, there is evidence to suggest that they could occupy relatively central positions in local society,

¹⁰ ComReg 2 f.14v.

¹¹ Heath, *The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation*, 19.

¹² GL MS 1239/1 f.52,53v, 77v.

witnessing wills and deeds and associating with locals of a slightly more humble status than did their colleagues in higher orders.

Chaplains

The greatest portion of the clergy serving at the parish churches by the end of the fifteenth century were, like the clerks, the financial responsibility of the 'lay' administration of the parish rather than its rector. At St Magnus's alone the total number of stipendiary priests celebrating at the church by 1548 was a *minimum* of 14, over and above the regular parish clergy. This figure includes 12 chaplains employed by perpetual chantry foundations and two fraternity chaplains. Indeed, provisions existed for a further two, although they had not been hired 'since the time of Henry IV'.¹³ In addition, as seen in discussion of commemoration, numerous temporary chantries, not to mention anniversaries, would have further supplemented this number.

That most of the chaplains were supervised by the wardens did not free them from the kind of criticism that is commonly associated with the incumbents of medieval parishes. St Magnus's chaplains were certainly not always beyond reproach. In January 1420 Sir Roger Wattes, a chaplain celebrating for the Fraternity of the Fishmongers at St Magnus's (otherwise unknown), was hauled before the Mayor and Aldermen after being caught 'in adultery' with Anne, the widow of John Avery who had been parish Clerk.¹⁴ The visitation report published by Richard Arnold, dating from some point between 1494 and the date of publication, 1502, had numerous complaints about St Magnus's clergy, including:

That divers of the priests and clarkes, in tyme of dyuyne seruice, be at tauerns and alehowsis, at fishing, and other trifils, wherby dyuyne seruyce is let

That bi favour of the wardeyns their bith admyttid bothe priestis beneficed and religious where ther might bee more convenient and expedient, and that have more need to be receyuid in their placis ... their names Sir Robert Smyth, beneficed; and a monke, Sir John Botel, beneficed; Sir John Bate hath a thinge that we cannat vundirstond

Neither the priestis nor clarkis then ben retained for the chirche wil nat com to our lady masse nor salve, nor the clarkis and priestis that bien retained by the mastirs of the salve wil com to masse or matins in the quyer.¹⁵

Traditionally stipendiary clergy had only specific tasks: their chantry masses, or the services of the fraternity that employed them. However, many chantries founded during the fifteenth century

¹³ Christopher J. Kitching, ed., *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificates, 1548* (London: London Record Society, 1980), sec. 24-25.

¹⁴ Sharpe, *Calendar of Letter Books*, pt. I, p.280.

¹⁵ Arnold, *Arnold's Chronicle*, 277.

sought to ensure that their priests would be present ‘during all hours of divine service’. Similarly, that the visitors in the above quotation complained of the difficulty in getting the church and fraternity’s chaplains and clerks to attend each other’s services surely implies that it was deemed within their power to insist otherwise.

The Clerical Community

The actual situation amongst the lower clergy of a parish would probably not have been as dire as suggested by some sources, yet it would be easy to conceive of a ‘clerical community’, distant from the local population, and possibly unconcerned by lay expectations. Sir Roger Wattes’ adultery with the widow of the late parish clerk can hardly represent sheer chance, but suggests a coherent and self-aware clerical community in which the chantry priests often associated with the clerks and their wives in social, as well as professional, circumstances. This clerical community is, however, largely lost to us: evidence of the presence of any but the rector occurs only incidentally, most frequently in bequests in wills, or cases such as Wattes’ where there were accusations of wrongdoing. Nonetheless, it must be remembered that the evidence of the numbers of chantries and shorter term commemorative activities, as well as fraternities, and also the musical activities revealed in the churchwarden’s accounts of St Mary at Hill, reveal that each of the parish churches of the neighbourhood would have had a strong and vibrant community of clergy.

Returning to evidence from wills, a more positive picture of engagement and integration between minor clergy and parishioners begins to emerge. John Ostwicke, a priest of St Magnus who died in 1495, left many bequests not only to other priests and chaplains, but also left £23 6s 8d and a red velvet gown to John Smyth, Stockfishmonger, and his wife Isabell, for ‘the past desynes and laboures that they and their servants have sustained and bourne by me’. Amongst his other bequests were 40s, and his best gown, to William Stanton ‘servant with John Smyth’, 20s to Joan Godford ‘widow and servant with them’ and 20s for Henry Somer, Haberdasher, while he left much more, in smaller amounts, to his servants.¹⁶ This suggests a strong and intimate relationship between a prosperous local household and an elderly priest.

Ostwicke was not atypical. At St Mary at Hill, John Philip, a priest who died in 1491, appointed as his executors active local parishioners John Derham, Grocer, and William Maunfeld, Cheesemonger, and as overseer, Agnes Bretayn the powerful widow connected with both the Ironmongers and Grocers’ companies, identified as the heart of a prominent matriarchal network by

¹⁶ PROB 11/10 Vox 29.

Anne Sutton.¹⁷ However, Philip actually left more in his will to the servants of these parishioners: ‘Margery, Agnes and Isabell, servants with Mistress Bretayn, 3s 4d each on the day of their marriages’; ‘John Bampton, Alice Bampton, Thomas Herstede and William Milton, servants with John Derham, 3s 4d each’; ‘Agnes Down, servant with William Maundefeld, 3s 4d’. This ‘clerical community’ evidently interacted with the ‘lay community’ at a relatively humble level.

Assessing the roles fulfilled by clerics as overseers, executors and witnesses of parishioners’ wills (including the wills of clerics), some clear trends emerge, showing the relative involvement of different ranks of the clerical community with the wider community. Table 6.2 illustrates that rectors and parsons were the most common clerical group enlisted as supervisors of wills, followed by parish priests and Oxford and Cambridge scholars. Chaplains were seldom trusted with this role, whereas they were the most common clerics enlisted as executors, followed by parish priests and finally rectors. Similarly, parish and stipendiary priests were most common as witnesses to wills, followed distantly by chaplains. Rectors and parsons, as well as senior and intellectual clerics, were entirely absent as witnesses to testaments.

Table 6.2 - Numbers and percentages of clerics of various ranks serving as supervisors, executors or witnesses [all sampled wills]

	Supervisor		Executor		Witness	
		%		%		%
Senior Cleric\Canon	2	8.3	1	2.3	0	0.0
Academic	4	16.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
Rector\Parson	6	25.0	7	16.3	0	0.0
Priest	5	20.8	10	23.3	27	45.8
Chaplain	3	12.5	15	34.9	17	28.8
Parish Clerk	0	0.0	2	4.7	6	10.2
Unknown\Misc. Clerk	4	16.7	8	18.6	9	15.3
Total	24		43		59	

Not only was there differentiation in the roles for which clerics of different rank were employed in local wills, but there was also an absolute differentiation in the likelihood of them being so employed. While university clerics were only likely to have been named overseers of wills, and rectors equally likely to serve as supervisors or executors, both were rarely involved with administration of wills in comparison with their lowlier colleagues. Parish priests were over three times more likely to be involved with wills than were rectors and parsons, and chaplains were nearly as popular. This suggests that parish priests were far more involved with the local community than were their employers, even if the rectors were resident and ostensibly active in the area. Despite the

¹⁷ ComReg 8 f.24; Anne F. Sutton, “Lady Joan Bradbury (d. 1530),” in *Medieval London Widows, 1300-1500* (London: Hambledon, 1994).

fact that if a rector was involved with a will he would have served either as supervisor or executor, chaplains were in fact the most commonly nominated as executors, being nominated in twice as many wills.

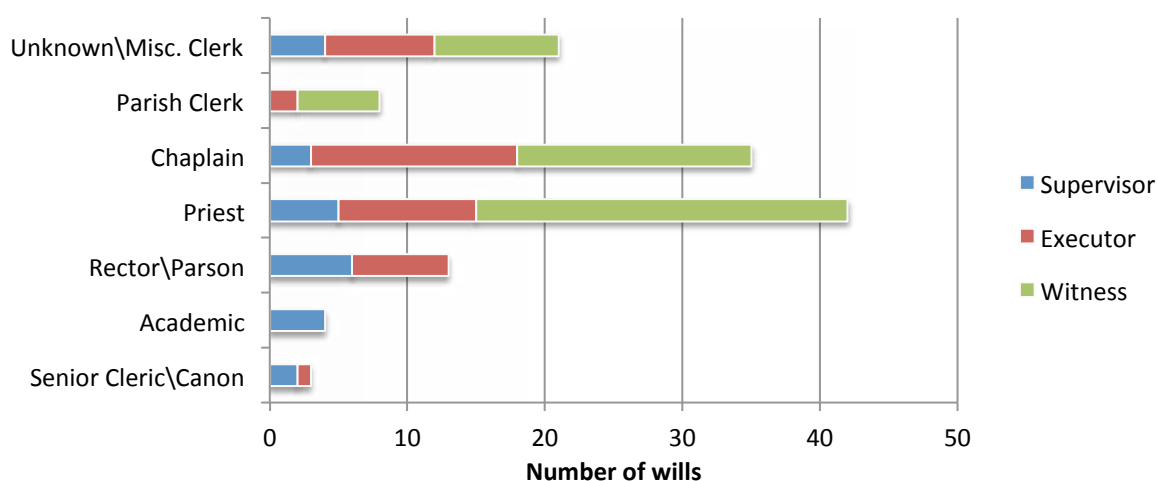


Figure 6.1– Will functions fulfilled by clerics of various ranks [all sampled wills] (n=126)

The most common role for clerics in the sampled wills was witness. Whereas clergy served as executors in forty-three wills, they were employed as witnesses in fifty-nine. That rectors were absent from this number is therefore all the more striking, further suggesting that they were not available to minister to their parishioners at solemn occasions such as the composition of a will, whether it was done on the death-bed, or far in advance or, indeed, whatever their social and economic status within the parish. That parish priests were the most common clerical witnesses is, conversely, unsurprising, for their day-to-day duty was to minister the cure of souls within the parish.

Perhaps more striking is the high numbers of chaplains and even parish clerks who served as witnesses. Chaplains often had no obligations to serve parishioners beyond conducting specified services for the dead and attending regular divine service, so for them to appear so frequently both as witnesses and executors can be interpreted as indicative of their sociability and willingness to engage with the local communities, as well as parishioners' trust in them. While it is logical that priests would be common witnesses to wills if ministering to the sick and dying, there is insufficient clarity in the sampled wills to indicate whether they are disproportionately more common in wills composed close to the date to death. The relative popularity of parish clerks as witnesses could easily be explained by their role as a relatively humble, yet (presumably) literate, member of the local community who could be called upon to act as scribe, and therefore witness. Conversely, the appointment of an executor would have been a more considered decision for many individuals, so the frequent appointment of chaplains to this role would have been likely to have been more than coincidence. It points to the strength of community existing between the parish and its wider clergy.

6.2 Churchwardens and Lay Management

The traditional division of parish churches at the chancel arch applied both to the fabric of the structure, and to its personnel. The tithe supported only the rector (and the parish priest if he employed one), yet the staff of the sampled parishes were considerably more numerous throughout the fifteenth century. The remainder of the church and the staff were the direct responsibility of the congregation, and for this purpose parishes had evolved a comprehensive lay administration by the fifteenth century.

Churchwardens

While parishes possessed corporate seals as early as 1280, the parish is usually understood as the sum of its parishioners, rather than as a discrete unit or corporate body. The pseudo-corporate nature of the parish meant that it did not generally appear as a legal entity in deeds or wills, or indeed other legal records, but is referred to in the persona of its officers. Drew identified the first churchwardens in the late thirteenth century, having evolved from the need for a formalised manner of dealing with the responsibilities conferred on the parishioners by canon law, but not usurping the authority of the collective of the parishioners.¹⁸ Only eleven parochial seals are known to have existed: throughout medieval England parochial documents were usually sealed by the amassed separate seals of the churchwardens and ‘parish men’, or else with a civic seal.¹⁹

Only in St Mary at Hill’s churchwardens’ accounts is it possible to get a strong impression of the work of churchwardens, or indeed of the wardens themselves.²⁰ However, it has been possible to reconstruct something of the structure and identity of churchwardens in the other churches, and at St Mary at Hill in the gap in accounts between 1430 and 1476. The many deeds, quitclaims and wills that convey landed property to the parish churches addressed the parish in the form ‘[name] rector of the said church and [name] and [name], custodians of the works and goods of the said church’. Thereby it is possible to learn the identities of the wardens of the churches at certain intervals (detailed in Appendix 6). In all cases it appears that two wardens were in office at any one time, and it seems likely that the model seen at St Mary at Hill would have been followed, whereby

¹⁸ Charles Drew, *Early Parochial Organisation in England: The Origins of the Office of Churchwarden*, St. Anthony’s Hall Publications 7 (London: St. Anthony’s Press, 1954), 7-20.

¹⁹ Elizabeth New, “Signs of Community or Marks of the Exclusive? Parish and Guild Seals in Later Medieval England,” in *The Parish in Late Medieval England*, ed. Clive Burgess and Eamon Duffy, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 14 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2006), 123.

²⁰ The churchwardens of St Mary at Hill are discussed at length elsewhere, so examples are drawn from other parishes where possible. See: Burgess, “Shaping the Parish.”

each warden served for two years, the senior warden training a new warden during the second year of his term. Certainly this was the case at St Botolph Billingsgate, where a few decades later in the first year of Henry VIII's reign, for in that year 'Nicholas Revell by reason of hys senyoryite in the said office beinge accomptaunte for all the same sales', according to the response of Richard Williams and William Knight, wardens in 1552.²¹

The wardens who can be identified generally represent the social composition of the parishes in a predictable manner. The wardens of St Magnus included several Fishmongers and Stockfishmongers, as well as a Goldsmith and a Cutler, while Grocers were quite common at St Mary at Hill. However, as Burgess suggested for St Mary, churchwardenship appears not have been regarded as a particularly prestigious position. William Brampton appears to be the only serving Alderman to have been churchwarden, serving at St Magnus in 1403.²² Thomas Duffhous, Fishmonger and sheriff in 1428, had served as churchwarden at St Magnus in 1405, relatively early in his career, but still appeared as a representative of the parish in deeds during his sherival year.²³

Parish Men

Churchwardenship was a stage in the involvement of individuals in parish life, but by no means the pinnacle. Once an individual had served as warden, they can often then be seen serving the parish on further occasions without the formal office of wardenship.²⁴ In the same manner that churchwardens were frequently named as legal representatives of parishes in property conveyances, the *probiores magis dignos parochianos* are also frequently named.²⁵ Thomas Leget, Goldsmith, for example, was churchwarden at St Magnus's in 1428, but by 1435 he was named as one of these 'good men'.²⁶ Similarly at Botolph's, Thomas Page, Pewterer was churchwarden in 1456, and in 1458 one of the 'men of the parish', while in 1507 William Venables, acting in this role, was referred to explicitly as 'late churchwarden'.²⁷ This progression is clear to see at St Mary at Hill,

²¹ Henry Beauchamp Walters, *London Churches at the Reformation: With an Account of Their Contents* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1939), 215.

²² HR 131(75).

²³ HR 134(54), 157(56).

²⁴ Burgess, "Shaping the Parish," 261.

²⁵ HR 138(56).

²⁶ HR 157(56), 163(66).

²⁷ HR 211(1), 210(15); GL MS 59 (35).

where, for example, Henry Merse and Henry Vavesour appeared at the summit of the parochial assessment in 1486 after having served as churchwardens several years before.²⁸

The most frequent number of representatives was four, but some documents refer to several more: seven, for example, appearing in a document of 1420 relating to St Botolph.²⁹ These representatives or ‘trustees’ of the parish were synonymous with the ‘parish elite’. Effectively they functioned as feoffees of the parish, guaranteeing continuity as representatives of ‘the parishioners’. The 1552 returns for St Mary reveal this relationship between the wardens and the representatives of the parish. Each sale of goods is noted as being ‘by þe consent of the moost auncient of our sayd parryshe’. One instance betrays the lack of authority of the churchwardens to act on their own: ‘Audryan Searle by whose conset we know not sould in the sayd second yeare these perssels of plate and goodes ... but to what wse the monn and profittes thereof was imployed and bestowed we knowe not’.³⁰ Conversely in 1491-2 the churchwardens had been offered a bequest of an antiphoner by former chantry priest Sir John Motram, latterly a priest of St Pauls, under condition of the celebration of an obit; evidently they did not have the authority to accept themselves, so reported the offer at the annual audit in order to secure authorisation:

Robert Plommer, gent, to Iohn Smarte, William Prewne, John Ducklyng, Herry Kello, Iohn Deraham, Iohn Mascall, Richard Cloce & to Robert Howtyng, That the wyll of sir John Motram, prest of Poullles, þat late decessid, yave his booke callid an Antiphoner vnto þe chirch vnder this condicion ... To the perfformyng of the which, All the saide persones above written in the name of all the paryssh be ffully agreed.³¹

It was also the responsibility of this group to authorise the hiring of the supplementary parish staff, even if the churchwardens actually handled their payment:

Item, payd to Lennard, that was heryd be my masteres off the parysh, hauyng ffor Euery halyday vj d when that he Comyth, & payd to hym with þe conception of oure lady day tyll' Crestmase euen, euery halyday, vj d. summa ij s.³²

Conversely, while the parish masters were deemed capable of speaking ‘in the name of all the paryssh’ and are named as recipients of lands, they do not feature in the cases where parishes appear

²⁸ These examples are discussed in detail in: Burgess, “Shaping the Parish,” 255; Clive Burgess, “Pre-Reformation Churchwardens’ Accounts and Parish Government: Lessons from London and Bristol,” *English Historical Review* 117, no. 471 (2002): 306-32.

²⁹ GL MS 59 (23).

³⁰ Walters, *London Churches at the Reformation*, 450-2.

³¹ GL MS 1239/1 f.93v.

³² GL MS 1239/1 f.177v.

in court as a corporate body. The disputes surrounding St Mary at Hill's bequest from John Olney were prosecuted in Chancery by the rector William Preston, and on other occasions by the churchwardens John Bremonger and John Dey, but not by the parish masters.³³

The precise brief of the parish masters can only be guessed, but appears to equate to a 'non-executive board'. The churchwardens' accounts of St Mary at Hill in 1489 record in a memorandum that the project to build a new aisle to the church was coordinated 'at the assemble of certeyn of the parisch'.³⁴ It certainly appears that the position of the parish men was not yet established as a formal structure, but represented those considered to be of sufficient authority to participate in the annual audit. The fullest roll-call of the masters is offered in January 1498: 14 men, including the parson and alderman had agreed to future charges for knells.³⁵ All of the laymen had already served as churchwardens, except for Thomas Wattys and Harry Edmond, who were the incoming wardens, and William Smart who would serve in 1499-1500. Further lists often include only six or so named individuals '*cum multis aliis*', leaving ambiguity as to whether space was simply short on the manuscripts when the 'fair copy' as compiled, as Burgess suggests, or if compositions of meetings varied with their importance.³⁶

Parish Management

The management of the parish as an institution appears to have taken place at two distinct levels. These could be termed the 'executive' and 'strategic' levels of administration. The day-to-day administrative tasks were the responsibility of the churchwardens, who, with their legally established role, were able to buy, sell and take legal action on behalf of the parish, albeit only acting with the consent of the parish. The wardens were however, not granted with anything greater than executive power: they administered by consent. The parish masters acted as a de-facto voice for the parish, providing oversight and directing major projects, such as rebuilding. As Burgess suggested, entry to this informal circle would appear to have been dependent upon service as a churchwarden. It is likely that this hierarchy would have resembled that found at Hartland, Devon, in the later

³³ TNA C1/31 rot.39; C1/38 rot.269.

³⁴ GL MS 1239/1 f.73v.

³⁵ GL MS 1239/1 f.155v. GL MS 1239/2 f.59 references the other entry as containing the names of 'other parishioners being present' as recorded in 'the booke of accompt remaynyng in the churchwardens keypyng'.

³⁶ Burgess, "Shaping the Parish," 269.

sixteenth century, where a group of twenty-four ‘governors’ representing the parish would elect the ‘four men’, who controlled the parish finances and supervised the wardens, once every four years.³⁷

The everyday activities of churchwardens are revealed in their accounts: collecting rents, paying for maintenance, and hiring and administering clerks and chaplains. These roles are well known and discussed at length elsewhere. Underpinning most of these activities, however, is the fundamental role of the churchwarden not only as a custodian of the ‘rents and goods’ of the church, but also carrying responsibility for the very reason that the church came to have those goods and rents: the memory of past parishioners, and therefore the collective memory of the parish itself. Chapter 7 discusses the desire felt by parishioners to ensure their memory would survive, and the fact that the parish was central to this. In granting land, rents, objects or cash to a parish in return for services or a memorial, the donor was entrusting these to the churchwardens as guardians of their intentions. The latter’s task was not simply to balance income and expenditure, but also to preserve the meaning behind these. Therefore, the accusations against St Magnus’s wardens by the inquisitors are doubly stinging, claiming both:

Item that a fortymes for defawte of good and diligent autoryte of the acomptis of the wardeyns ther hath bien many and gret Somes of money taken from the chirche the which myght wel cum to light yf the olde acomptis were wele examnyed.

The willes of them that have geven goodis or londis unto the parish wherby we shulde further Inquyre whethyr the willes be perfurmed or nat for wythout them we cannat haue therof undirstonding.³⁸

The preservation of the wills of late parishioners was therefore clearly understood as an integral element of the task of churchwarden. This is a primary reason for the production of the cartularies or ‘parish books’ that exist for both St Margaret Bridge Street and St Botolph Billingsgate, and also St Mary at Hill (where the wills of perpetual chantry founders accompany the churchwarden’s accounts). Much like the duties of churchwardens themselves, the purposes of a parish cartulary were both practical, in terms of maintaining revenues by ensuring title to lands and bequests, and also allowed for the maintenance of memory, as Arnold’s visitation complaint indicates.

The opening passage of St Botolph’s cartulary describes the rationale for its composition:

Registrum et copie cartarum, scriptorum, ... et omnium munimentorum ecclesie Sancti Botolphi iuxta Billyngsgate civitatis London. Spectantus cum bona deliberacione factum ac per quem dam parochiam ecclesie memorate. Scriptus et compilatus [25 Dec 1418] videlicet per assensum et consensum domini William Rose tunc rectoris eiusdem ecclesie

³⁷ Drew, *Early Parochial Organisation*, 25.

³⁸ *Arnold’s Chronicle*, 276.

*ac Johannis Aylesham groceri et Willi Belle peautrerus tunc custodum et supervisorum operis et negociorum ecclesie supradicte.*³⁹

The purpose of the manuscript is thus explicitly the preservation of memory – evidently suggested or encouraged by the rector, and implemented by the churchwardens. The book is professionally executed in scribal hand throughout, and carries additions as late as 1530: effectively it was employed as something akin to a bede roll, being updated, added to and annotated to reflect the benefactions of parishioners. The last few pages include a description of a canopy which was given to the parish by William Laurence, and an ‘image’ of St George, evidently an animated wooden model, together with maintenance instructions for both, indicating the way in which the book was regarded by wardens almost as a common place book.

St Margaret Bridge Street’s cartulary is somewhat more pragmatic in format, being composed in a rougher hand, and subject to annotations, deletions and insertions. The introduction to the inventory, the first item in the book, records that it was begun in 1472 by Hugh Hunt, churchwarden (Appendix 6). As with St Botolph’s book the bulk of the folios are occupied with wills, but the inventory, with its many ‘of which lakketh’ annotations, show it to be a working document. In many respects, parts of St Mary at Hill’s records betray a similar nature, compiling information that was both useful, and served to reinforce memory. Amongst an assortment of fifteenth century, and earlier, wills is a note appended to William Cambridge’s testament describing the practical usage associated with his requests. Such ‘working additions’ clearly illustrate the pragmatic usage of the book:

Also it hathe bene acustomyd that vppon Cristmas day at the magnificat in the Evensong, be ordeyned for euery preste, clark & childe xv small candelles wayng all ij lb. di. And euery persone hauyng a surplise shall have one of thise smale candelles brennyng in their handes & so to go on procession to the tombe of Mr. Cambryge syngyng a Respond of Seynte Stephen with the prose therto; that done, a versicle with the colet of S Stephen, And in goyng into the Queer a Antempne of owre ladye: Beryng ij candilstickes of syluer with the tapres on yt and a Sencer with a schyp.⁴⁰

The churchwardens were not alone as formal officers of the parish community, for these highly developed city parishes possessed further wardenships. While many churches were host to fraternities, with their own wardens (as explored below), St Magnus the Martyr, for example, also had a separate alms fund, with its own wardens from at least 1483, when widow Elizabeth Keyes left two torches to ‘the almes’. In 1484, when Stephen Chirche, Stockfishmonger left 22d to the ‘wardens of the alms’, while Thomas Morten, Bowyer, described in his will of 1498 the ‘alms that

³⁹ GL MS 59, f.3.

⁴⁰ GL MS 1239/2 f.12v.

are gadered Sodayly in the said churche', and left a wax torch to the fund.⁴¹ Initially it would seem that St Magnus' parishioners had been innovative in establishing an alms fund within the parish, collecting weekly donations, well in advance of any of the more formalised and eventually compulsory schemes of the sixteenth century. However, the fact that many donations to 'the alms' were of wax torches rather than ready money may suggest a less practical and more liturgical purpose. While the torches could have adorned a shrine where the alms were collected, it suggests that the fund was collecting alms for prayers rather than for the practical sustenance of the poor.

Regardless of the precise purpose of the 'alms' fund at St Magnus, its greatest significance resides in the fact that the parishioners had established it at all. Diversification and multiplication of lay roles within the parish churches during the fifteenth century served many purposes. Not only did divine services proliferate, but it also served to increase the socially integrating elements of parochial life. Ian Archer and Valerie Pearl have emphasized the importance of the breadth in office holding in maintaining the social structure of the city as a whole.⁴² On the level of the parish this also held true: increasingly involvement by the laity in the operation of the parish bore significant fruit in terms of a growing vibrancy of those churches.

Churchwardens are the most historically visible of the lay involvements in the management of the parish because of their statutory and therefore recorded function. While their role was undoubtedly important, it was just one amongst a range of lay roles within the parish community: from 'the parish men', who may equate with the vestry of the sixteenth century, to the wardens responsible for specific funds and fraternities. All of these offices contributed to the vibrancy of the local community: providing another service or function to the church and therefore increasing their reasons to attend, and providing more opportunities to become involved. In the religious context of the fifteenth century, these roles had the dual purpose of uniting not only the community of the living, but of connecting them with the community of the dead. The continued presence of the dead amongst the community relied upon the efficient execution of their duties, especially the collection of rents and management of chaplains.

⁴¹ PROB 11/7 Logge 9; ComReg 6 f362v; PROB 11/11 Horne 23.

⁴² Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, 63; Pearl, "Change and Stability in Seventeenth-Century London."

6.3 Parish Projects

The scope for parishioners of the Bridgehead parishes, with constrained physical locations, to improve their churches could appear to have been limited. However, sustained and generous investment was devoted to improving and lavishly equipping the churches. Furthermore, the close proximity of the churches may have served to inspire competition and emulation between neighbouring parishes, further stimulating an effectively led and strong parish community. Determination and innovation allowed parishioners to find ways to expand their parish church both literally and spiritually.

St Margaret Bridge Street: Jewels and Relics

Then is the parrish church of S.Margaret on Fisshstreete hill, a proper church, but monuments it hath none: a foot way passeth by the south side of this church, from Fishstreet hill into Rother lane.⁴³

Located in the immediate vicinity of the start of the Great Fire of 1666, not only was St Margaret the first church to be destroyed in that conflagration, but instead of being rebuilt, its site was chosen for the construction of the Monument by Wren and Hooke. The parish was then merged with St Magnus. The church can just be glimpsed behind St Magnus in Wyngaerde's panorama, appearing as a square tower with external stair, and a low nave roof. Hugh Alley's survey of the city markets in 1598 included a drawing of Bridge Street, complete with a section of the frontage of St Margaret's, including a small tower, crowned by a cupola, and a crenelated porch structure, possibly covering the alley which ran to the south of the church toward Pudding Lane.⁴⁴ The copperplate map depicts the church with a relatively squat tower with four windows spread, over two levels, as seen in Alley's drawing and what could be a depiction of a door, and shows the church set back slightly from Bridge Street, with two small posts standing in line with the rest of the street frontage – possibly depicting a churchyard. The nave is depicted extending eastward, half way to Pudding Lane, as confirmed by the tenement plan. Schofield interprets the copperplate map at face value, and identifies the tower as Romanesque, with its square shape and paired windows.⁴⁵

We can, in the case of St Margaret's, discover considerably more about the inside of the church, and its fittings, than its exterior. The decoration and fittings of the nave represented the cumulative

⁴³ Stow, *A Survey of London*, 212. Stow was incorrect in asserting that St Margaret had no monuments, for Munday's and Strype's editions contain details of the tomb of John de Coggeshall. John Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, 1720, ii, 176.

⁴⁴ Alley, *Hugh Alley's Caveat*, 55.

⁴⁵ Schofield, "Saxon and Medieval Parish Churches," 52.

effect of individual pious actions and bequests, including jewels, relics and other liturgical objects. These goods were detailed in both wills and church inventories, collated not only for the Royal Commissioners' inquiry of 1552, from when they survive for all of the studied parishes, but also during regular visitations. In the case of St Mary at Hill they survive in volume two of the church records for the years 1431, 1496-7 and partially for 1523.⁴⁶ However, St Margaret Bridge Street's inventory of 1472 includes an usually extensive inventory, not only of the church furniture and liturgical objects necessary for a visitation, but of other items collected by the parish: jewels and relics.

The list of these non-liturgical, but prestigious, objects is impressive (Appendix 6), containing thirty-two relics, many described as contained in silver or gilt mounts. These range from a tooth of St Bridget to the rod that Moses used to part the red sea. The next section, titled jewels, lists twenty-three items, almost all of which are not precious stones, but mainly silverware and silver-gilt, including a great number of chalices. Notable items include 'a crosse of silver parcel gilt and enamelled with floures weyng in all VJ lb VI ounces of troy' and 'two grete candlestickis of silver parcel gilt and enamelled which in all VJ lb and IX ounces of troy weight'.⁴⁷ Many of these objects were annotated in the churchwarden, Hugh Hunt's, own hand with details of their donation. For example 'a chalix of silver al gilt weing XVIIJ ounces and di' is noted with the text 'of the gift of Hugh Brews' in Hunt's slightly rougher hand, showing his adaptation of the inventory drawn up along strictly pragmatic lines, to his use as a liturgical reminder. Amongst the additions is a reliquary donated by Hunt himself. There appear to have been far more donations than bequests identifiable in wills, suggesting that donations during life as in this case, or by executors carrying out obligation to charity without specific direction, were at least as important as testamentary bequests. The churchwardens' accounts of St Mary at Hill provide a rare glimpse into the actual receipts by a church in a year, evidently containing three gifts compared to four bequests:

This bene the yefftes and byqwestes receiuid by me in this yere:	
first, of mastir William Wylde, parson of thys parishe, receiuid on	Summa iij l'i
Cristmas Evyn to the chirche warkes & odir benefyttes	
Item, of mastres petyt by the handes of mastir Duklyng	Summa iij s iiij d
Item, of Bedylls wyff at ij tymes for ij of hur geestes	Summa viij d
Item, of William Grays bequest by the handes of mastir parson	Summa xl s
Item, of John Bampton for the byquest of his Sustir	Summa x s
Item, of Thomas Rivelles byquest by the handes of his executurs	Summa liij s iiij d
Item, of Mathewe huntis wyffes byquest by hur executurs	Summa xl s ⁴⁸

⁴⁶ GL MS 1239/1 f.9-10; GL MS 1239/2 f.25-28.

⁴⁷ GL MS 1174, 9r.

⁴⁸ GL MS 1239/1 f.139.

Hunt annotated many items listed amongst the jewels in St Margaret's inventory in a more pragmatic way. The cross with the enamel flowers was noted as 'thereof lakking IIJ ounces di', apparently recording losses through wear-and-tear, or perhaps abasement or initial over-valuation. Of the candlesticks, he noted that 'thereof 1 ounce abated because of the wex therin', suggesting the initial weighing was a gross weight rather than a net weight. Hunt was clearly acting as a conscientious custodian of his church's goods.

In addition to the many items listed without provenance, and those annotated by Hunt as being the gift of specific parishioners or rectors, the last item on the inventory, another addition in a larger hand, reveals another source for the aggrandisement of the parish's goods:

Item IJ Basyns of sylvere the bordure graven and gilt with IJ stones in the myddle of the one ys the ymage of Saint Marget and in the tother the ymage of Saynt John Baptist The whiche ben made of the store of the said Cherche waying LIJ ounces and di.⁴⁹

Not only were the churchwardens maintaining and acting as custodians for their goods, but this reveals that they were proactive. The church store, as described vividly in Duffy's work on Morebath, was a fund run by parishioners to provide for additions to the church stock, independent of the rector.⁵⁰ It seems likely that, as Hunt had appended his gift of a reliquary to the inventory in the same hand, that the pair of basins were procured under his direction, or at least during his term as warden. It was the outcome of a common purpose, a concerted programme to increase the provisions of the church. That this was the feeling behind the presence of so many relics is made clear by the fact that the same page also carries the note:

The summa of pardon graunted and conferined by the [?] and archbisshepis and bisshopsis to al the gode doers and aiders and helpers and gode geueres to the cherche of Sancte Margarete in Brigstrete in London verraly confessed and contrited is thre yere and CLXVI dais.⁵¹

Not only does this passage simply record the rewarding of 'good givers' with pardons, but its location associates and equates, contribution to the parish with the obtaining of pardons and remission from purgatory. The good of the parish community is equated with the good of the individual.

This carefully maintained and managed collection of liturgical, devotional and decorative goods was clearly more than simply a statutory collection maintained for the purpose of the execution of the

⁴⁹ GL MS 1174, 9v.

⁵⁰ Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath*, 24-30.

⁵¹ GL MS 1174, 8v.

liturgy. The contributions of testators and of the living combined to form the basis of a collection of objects designed to enrich the church, not merely financially, or liturgically, but serving the interests of parishioners in a wider sense. In one sense, the prestige of the parish is enhanced: its appeal and reputation improved, serving almost as a totem for those who had worked to achieve that, but in the process acquisition, common purpose had been created, and the parish community drawn together in numerous ways.

St Botolph Billingsgate: A New Cemetery

Next is the parish church of Saint Buttolphs, a proper church, it hath many fayre monuments therein.⁵²

St Botolph Billingsgate is unfortunate in being another church never rebuilt following the Great Fire of 1666. Indeed the sale catalogue entry for the church's register in 1845 suggested that 'it is possible that the above volume is the only original record of its existence saved'.⁵³ While the Agas map ignores the church entirely, Wyngaerde depicts only a very small tower (Figure 6.3). St Botolph was a small church, lacking an adjoining churchyard, but facing the busy thoroughfare of Thames Street. Excavation has revealed that a southern extension, most likely the chapel of St Mary, was located alongside Botolph Lane, and had its own independent access from that lane.⁵⁴

The site of St Botolph is extremely confined, tucked between Thames Street and its eponymous wharf, so it comes as little surprise that archaeological excavation has revealed relatively few burials within the church and its immediate yard: around fifty-five inside the east end of the nave appear to have dated mainly from the seventeenth century. Five bodies, including that of one child, of much earlier date, were found in the chapel and one dating to before the fourteenth century in the yard to the south-west. This confirms that the main church site never featured a burial ground, and was unable to provide much in the way of funerary services for its parishioners. The first records attempts to remedy this situation appear when Gilbert Maughfeld and his associate John Claveryng purchased a mortmain license in 1392 for 5 marks, coinciding with Richard II's statute of 1391 requiring all lands used by the church to be licensed, on pain of forfeit. The license allowed them to alienate a 'toft' 'for making a cemetery for the burial of parishioners dying there and others wishing to be buried there'.⁵⁵ While the timing might suggest the land was already in use by the church, this

⁵² Stow, *A Survey of London*, 207.

⁵³ GL MS 59, insertion prior to f.1.

⁵⁴ Schofield, "Saxon and Medieval Parish Churches," 98.

⁵⁵ Sandra Raban, "Mortmain in Medieval England," *Past & Present*, no. 62 (1974): 14; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1391-1396, 141.; repeated in GL MS 59 f.5v.

would appear to be contradicted by the fact that the consecration of the cemetery was carried out by John, Bishop of Derry, in 1393.

Details of the new cemetery emerge in a deed documenting the resolution of a dispute between the rector, John Wolde, and the owners of the tenement to the south, John Walleworth, William Shirwode, Saddler and Geoffrey Haket, Vintner. The dimensions of the cemetery are given as as 33' in frontage, and extending 54'9", but the deed notes that problems soon arose:⁵⁶

And because in the making of the bounds of the said cemetery there was taken within the metes of the same cemetery from the said parcel of land thus acquired by the said John Walleworth [et.al.] 2' more that there ought to have been taken by right along the whole length on the north side of the said parcel.⁵⁷

In compensation, John Wolde, on behalf of his successors, agreed that the owners of the southern tenement could 'freely make and construct a certain jetty overhanging by the space of 2' along the whole length on the southern side of the said cemetery'. It was also conceded that light would always be allowed to be admitted to windows 'at the highest and lowest points of the said building' from the site of the cemetery.

The provision of a cemetery, where none had existed before, was an important step for the church, yet it is clear that this was not a project undertaken by the rector or his patron. While it was the rector who became custodian of the site, the deed of conveyance records that it was Maughfeld who had purchased it and given it to him as representative of the parish, and Maughfeld and Claveryng who had purchased the mortmain license that would ensure that the site remained firmly in the parish's hands. Clerical involvement was clearly needed, but the laity were the driving force.

St Magnus the Martyr: the Cloistered Parish

On the east side of this Bridge warde, have yee the fayre Parrish Church of S. Magnus, in the which church have been buried many men of good Worship.⁵⁸

The church of St Magnus the Martyr was undoubtedly one of the most important parish churches of the medieval City of London. Located at the head of London Bridge, it marked the entrance to the City for all approaching from the south. Paradoxically, while the church remains in use, it was so extensively rebuilt by Wren that information about its fifteenth century form must be conjectured from pictorial and topographical information, and by inference from descriptions in deeds and wills.

⁵⁶ GL MS 59, 6v.

⁵⁷ HR 125(3).

⁵⁸ Stow, *A Survey of London*, 212.

Wyngaerde's 'long view' panorama of c.1540 (Figure 6.3) shows St Magnus complete with its cloister, forming the new cemetery. The Copperplate Map of c.1559 (Figure 6.2) provides another source for the fifteenth and earlier sixteenth century state of the church. St Magnus is shown slightly further back from the waterfront, and with a group of houses and warehouses surrounding a small courtyard with a cross – presumably the cemetery referred to the deeds. A high nave is shown with a low south aisle, and a prominent crenelated tower to the west, complete with a stair tower, and two large glazed windows. Especially prominent is the large clock that projected over Bridge Street from the tower, as also featured in the Wren church, and thus a noted feature deemed worthy of replication by the parishioners. A very small fraction of the west frontage of the church is also shown in Hugh Alley's depiction of New Fish Street market, confirming a high, rough-cast stone tower, and suggesting the presence of a crenelated porch facing out across Bridge Street.⁵⁹ St Magnus was regarded as the heart of the fish market in Bridge Street, and undoubtedly its prominent clock, which projected out over the street, would have been used as the official measure of the times so rigorously specified in the Fishmongers' Ordinances.



Figure 6.2 - Detail from the Woodcut map showing St Magnus to Billingsgate

⁵⁹ Alley, *Hugh Alley's Caveat*, 55.



Figure 6.3 – Detail from Wynyaerde's 'long view' panorama of 1543

Despite the poor documentation of St Magnus's medieval form, we can begin to uncover something of the way in which its parishioners collaborated in its major fifteenth-century building projects, which appear to have begun considerably earlier than those documented at St Mary at Hill. In 1413, for example, John Hert, grocer, bequeathed £40 to the parish, for the building of the new south aisle, indicating that major works were at least planned by this early date.⁶⁰ Referring to deeds in the Court of Husting, two adjoining plots of land laying to the south of the nave were donated to the church, one by the famous architect and mason Henry Yevele in 1400, and the other by John Hale, Goldsmith, in 1426.⁶¹ This site was quickly developed into a cloister, used primarily as a graveyard, but undoubtedly with additional symbolic and processional purposes. In 1442 widow Alice Seynt John requested to be buried in the 'old churchyard', while in the same year Laurence Parham, Fishmonger, specified he wished to be buried in 'the new cemetery'.⁶² This is referred to as the 'new cloistered churchyard' by Roger Hodeliston, glover, in 1448, positively confirming the identity of the structure to the south of the body of the church in Hollar's views.⁶³

⁶⁰ Commissary Register 2 f249.

⁶¹ HR 129(7), 151(43), 174(27); Christopher Wilson, "Yevele, Henry (d. 1400)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 2004).

⁶² Com. Reg. 4 f95v; 4 f106.

⁶³ Com. Reg 4 f243.

Cloisters are not traditionally associated with English parish churches, yet they were not uncommon in fifteenth and sixteenth century London.⁶⁴ Harding discussed cloisters as an intermediate location, between a churchyard and the body of a church in terms of sanctity, and desirability for burial. However, St Magnus' cloister functioned as its only graveyard in the later fifteenth century. Aside from pressures on space, the fact that a cloister was not a 'standard' feature of an English parish church could very well explain the construction of one at St Magnus's, and other London parishes. The proliferation of clergy, discussed above, can already be seen as lending prosperous parishes such as this a 'pseudo-collegiate' character and, perhaps inspired by collegiate institutions, such as Walworth's College at the neighbouring parish of St Michael Crooked Lane, it is conceivable that the parish elites might have sought to emulate the physical form of such an institution.⁶⁵ Competition between neighbouring parishes can be surmised as a strong impulse behind the elaboration of parishes in the fifteenth century, and the process itself was likely to prove self-reinforcing and reciprocating. Effort expended in projects by parishioners was not only repaid in collective pride, but the process itself could have provided impetus and a focus for collective action, reinforcing social contact and social networks amongst parishioners.

Testamentary references can provide only the skeleton of a narrative of a large construction project spanning decades, and resulting in the wholesale redevelopment of the church of St Magnus. While it is not possible to trace anything of the detail of the process of development, and who was involved in its leadership, it is still clear that it was a communal effort, with prominent parishioners providing land and funds to enable to the project.

St Mary at Hill: Rebuilding

In this saint Marie hill is the faire parish church of saint Mary called on the hill, because of its ascent from Billingsgate. This church hath beene lately builded.⁶⁶

St Mary at Hill has long been one of the best studied of London's medieval churches because of the wealth of its surviving documents, but as a church rebuilt by Wren, little detail has been known about its architectural history until restoration work following a fire in 1988. Standing at the head of a noticeable slope, it lies toward the north of a long, thin parish, more reminiscent of the 'typical' London waterside parishes to the found west of London Bridge, which also had their churches

⁶⁴ Vanessa Harding, "Burial Choice and Burial Location in Later Medieval London," in *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600*, ed. S. R. Bassett (Leicester, 1992), 131.

⁶⁵ M Reddan and R. A. Wood, "Walworth's College in St Michael Crooked Lane," in *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex*, ed. Caroline M Barron and M. Davies (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2007), 223.

⁶⁶ Stow, *A Survey of London*, 208.

north of Thames Street, than neighbouring St Botolph or St Magnus where the churches stood to the south. Surprisingly the church does not appear in the Copperplate map, or its derivative woodcut or 'Agas' map, but is visible in Wyngaerde's view (Figure 6.3).

St Mary had two street frontages, on both St Mary Hill, and on Love Lane. Access appears to have been possible from either side, and a lane ran through the southern (pardon) churchyard, facilitating access from the south. Doors from the north and south aisles were blocked in the eighteenth century, but it would appear primary access was, as now, from Love Lane.

St Mary's earlier churchwardens' accounts reveal many individual payments for artisans and materials involved in small works. However, the scale and organisation of the larger projects of the 1490s and 1500s warranted a separate 'works book', now evidently lost.⁶⁷ This would have served not only as an efficient means of organising the work, but also would have served as a 'register of good works'. That such a book existed, and the initiatives behind it, are clear evidence of the organisation and determination of the parish community.

The earliest recorded work at St Mary's includes the construction of the rood loft and clerks' chamber in 1426, evidently a major project involving many payments to individual carpenters and suppliers of stone, wood and wainscot, in addition to the agreement for 2s 8d with William Searle, the master-carpenter. Soon afterward masons were contracted for the construction of a new porch, costing the churchwardens £8, who also spent £12 on pews at this time.⁶⁸ The next phase of documentation, from the 1470s, reveals the next major building project, in the form of repairs to the roof including tiling and glazing. There was also more major work to the tower or steeple, including re-roofing with lead, the reconstruction of the 'hovel' at its summit, and payments totalling £3 13s to Christopher, a carpenter, for removing an old steeple, and replacing it.⁶⁹ Unlike later works, these are detailed in the churchwardens' accounts, suggesting that day-to-day responsibility for them was still in the hands of the wardens, although the somewhat low sums paid for some of the work may suggest that funding could also have come from other sources within the parish administration.

Work began on the north aisle in 1487, but the wardens' accounts contain only a memorandum noting the beginning of work: more is known about it from archaeological recording following a

⁶⁷ GL MS 1239/1(pt.2) f.355v

⁶⁸ GL MS 1239/1 f.3-4.

⁶⁹ GL MS 1239/1 f.34.

fire in 1988.⁷⁰ In January 1490 a church meeting saw the commitment by several prominent parishioners to pay for ‘whole arches’, presumably connecting the new aisle with the nave. This project was probably designed to continue work begun by William Cambridge, whose chantry chapel, with its altar of St Stephen ‘by me made’ was located in this part of the church.⁷¹ Major work was on-going in 1497, when Stow related that:

in the moneth of Aprill, as Labourers digged for the foundation of a wall, within the Church of saint Marie hill neare vnto Belinsgate, they found a coffin of rotten timber ...⁷²

1497-8 also saw the erection of a new painted and carved rood screen, indicating that work on the west end of the new north aisle was complete, and confirming that this was the earlier of the two sections of the north wall.⁷³ Expansion of the south aisle began in 1500 with the memorandum that:

in thys yere above wretyn was the ende of the sowthyle of owre Church' takyn in wher sum tyme was the abbott of Walthams kechyn: to begynne at Ester & ffro that tyme fforward the parych' bene bownde to paye to Waltham, yerly ffor euermore, x s, ffor a quytrent ffor Ever.⁷⁴

This was also the explanation for the payments to ‘Master Vartu’ in 1501. Robert Vertue, King’s Mason and architect of Bath Abbey who was employed as architect.⁷⁵ This phase of building work was complete by 1503, for this year saw the ‘hallowing’ of the church.⁷⁶ By 1512 building work recommenced with the battlementing of both the south aisle and nave:

John Allthorpe & Stevyn Sandyrson hath promyseid to take the charge, & kepe reknyng to pay, all such warkmen as shall make the Battyllment of our church of Breke or ston or led as shal be thorte best & detarmemenyd by Mr alldyrman & the parysheynge; & Master Parson to ayst thame with hes good dylygense & wysedeme

⁷⁰ Paul Jeffery, Richard Lea, and Bruce Watson, “The Architectural History of the Church of St. Mary-at-Hill, in the City of London,” *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 43 (1995).

⁷¹ GL MS 1239/2 f.10v.

⁷² Stow, *A Survey of London*, 209.

⁷³ GL MS 1239/1 f.142-142v.

⁷⁴ GL MS 1239/2 f.62.

⁷⁵ GL MS 1239/1 f.202; Schofield, “Saxon and Medieval Parish Churches,” 119; Christopher Wilson, “Vertue, Robert (d. 1506),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁷⁶ GL MS 1239/1 f.224v

for to the best that he can for þe same; & Thomas Monders choseynyn by the said paryshe to waytte apon the said stevyn & allthorpe in ther absence & at ther comandemente for the fortherence of the same.⁷⁷

This was under way in 1513:

Memorandum: þat I, Iohn Warnar, fremason, hathe receuud of Master Awthorpe, chercwarden of sent mary at hyll', in full' payment of the makyng & fynyschyng of þe battyllmenttes, of ij bargeyns as ys afore specyfyde. Summa, v l'i. per me, Iohn Warner.⁷⁸

Thus a concerted programme of rebuilding had begun in 1487 and been completed in or around 1513, a space of 26 years and as many churchwardens, achieving rebuilding of both north and south aisles, including physical expansion, together with work on a 'middle aisle' probably representing a clerestory. This project demanded professional management: reflected from the start by the use of a separate 'works book', and probably separate wardens or members of the parish elite to compile it. The accounts reckoning of January 1501 reveals the method of accounting employed on the steeple works:

The which xxvj l'i xvj s v d is delyuerd the same day to Thomas Colyns vppon the Rekenyng of expences vppon the Masons werkmanschipp, & ffor stones for the Steple whiche was browghte in Rekenyng by the saide Thomas colyns and herry Edmond, whereof thay chargid them selff with lvij l'i xix s xj d. And paide by them as it apperith in their Rekenyng lxix l'i iiij s ix d ob.. And so ther was owyng to them in Surplysage xj l'i iiij s x d ob.. Therffore thay Resseyuyd the xxvj l'i xvj s vd, of the which' due to them xj l'i iiij s x d ob.. So Remaynneth in Thomas Colen his handes xv l'i xj s vj d ob., to be bestowed in tyme to com vppon the werkes of the steple.⁷⁹

Colyns, who had been a warden in 1496-7 and was now one of the 'parish men', was evidently working with Harry Edmond (one of the current wardens) on a separate account, possibly employing his own capital, and recording in his own reckoning, which the vestry also audited. Income for this project included the bequest of 200 marks 'toward the building of the steeple' by Robert Ryvell.⁸⁰ Such a large project was not seen as part of the 'church stock', like St Margaret's acquisition of further liturgical objects, but operated over and above the wardens and their accounting.

The process by which the parish went about securing the funding for the project is worthy of examination in its own right. Although the ground was broken for the foundations in March 1487,

⁷⁷ GL MS 1239/1(pt.2) f.355v

⁷⁸ GL MS 1239/1(pt.2) f.372v.

⁷⁹ GL MS 1239/1 f.181.

⁸⁰ PROB 11/8 Milles 44.

it would appear that funding was not committed until January 1490. The memorandum recording the apportionment of costs is revealing:

Memorandum: that the xx day of Ianuarii, Anno m cccc lxxxx, at the assemble of certeyn of the parisch of seynte Marye at hyll, was agreed, beffore Mr Wylliam Wilde, person, & Mr Remyngton, Alderman, that the saide Mr Remyngton haue grauntid to make a hole arch	All thies
Iohn Smarte, to make a hole arch	persons haue
William Prene, to make a hole arch or di. one harry kello, to make [a hole arch ?]	grauntid this.
Iohn Ducklyng & Sir Iohn Plommer, a hole arch	
John Halhed haue grauntid xl s, vppon Condycion that all' the parysch wyl be contrybutarye to the same, after theyre power, þat maye bere.	
Iohn a Mylton this yer	xl s
Ioh'n Mascall' this yer	xl s
Robert Odiham this yer	xx s
Iohn Deraham this yer	xl s
Thomas hunte will geve as Mr Alderman will set hym.	
Robert Rouxbye this yer vj s viij d & iij s iiij d o quarter.	
Mr William wylde, at his pleasure. ⁸¹	

The memorandum reveals not only much about the structure of the parish elite, as discussed by Burgess, but also the actual process of decision-making and parish fundraising.⁸² Clearly a special meeting ‘of the parish’ (meaning a select group of ‘parishioners’ and ‘parish men’) had been held to discuss the funding of the project. It is even possible to read from this memorandum a sequence of events in the meeting, whereby the parson, William Wild, would have been chairing a meeting of the vestry, and led events by announcing that William Remyngton would pay for an arch. Thereupon the most prominent members of the vestry evidently felt compelled to match this, William Prewne evidently being unsure of his means at the time. John Halhead, another prominent parishioner, but evidently of more limited means, offered 40s on the condition that others did so as best they were able. It is certainly tempting to imagine the atmosphere of a ‘charity auction’, with the parishioners probably provided with ale and food, and the parish masters having in mind their plan for contributions. These pledges were efficiently managed, for on Henry Kellow’s death in 1494 he made a bequest for ‘the amount that is showing as owing in the book of works’, suggesting that the management of the project was sophisticated enough to allow payment in instalments.⁸³

⁸¹ GL MS 1239/1 f.73v.

⁸² Burgess, “Shaping the Parish,” 205.

⁸³ PROB 11/10 Vox 22 [Image Ref 383/267]

After 1490, the bold heading ‘expenses for the profit of the church’ appears in the accounts, revealing that the parish administration and churchwardens were willing to spend a little in order to maximise fundraising:

Item, payd for a dyner whan Master Parson with othere of the paryshe were with him at the sonn, xvijs ixd.

Item, spent whan master Parson was at Gabryell with master alderman and master Plomere, iijs xd. [1491-2]⁸⁴

Later, in 1499-1500, the parish was again willing spend a reasonable sum from its funds in order to secure the land required for expansion of the south aisle in a favourable settlement:

Item, payd to Master doklyng ffor Costes spent to the Abbott off Waltham at the abbottes in iij s

Item, payd in Costes spent when Master doklyng, Thomas hunt, Robert hotyng, Thomas Colyne at there Rydyng to Waltham to speke with the Abbott ffor the kechen viij s vij d.⁸⁵

Clearly these initiatives worked: the church was rebuilt, and the abbot’s consent was quickly received for the inclusion of the site of his kitchen into the south aisle, for the quit-rent of 10s. Overall it would appear that the prosperous parishioners who acted not only as churchwardens but as masters applied their commercial skills to their management of their parish with considerable success.

⁸⁴ GL MS 1239/1 f.88v.

⁸⁵ GL MS 1239/1 f.179v.

6.4 Parochial Community?

Can the parish really be regarded as more than simply an institutional ‘community of place’, formed of disparate people happening to live in the same small area? Examination of the evidence for participation in the life of the parish has shown that, in many respects, cooperation and collective action were extensive, and integral to the parish institution. However, as Rosser emphasized, ‘in practice the medieval parish always admitted a variety of concurrent patterns of religious activity’.⁸⁶

The management of the parish involved many more people than just the churchwardens – the ‘parish men’, those regarded as ‘parishioners’, and proactive rectors and clergy like William Wyld. By the mid fifteenth-century, it would appear that all of the parishes studied had engaged in at least some organised expansion and accumulation under the guidance of leading parishioners. The survival of churchwardens’ accounts for St Mary at Hill inevitably provides much deeper understanding of that parish than its neighbours, but for St Magnus to have engaged in a similarly ambitious programme of works in the early fifteenth century implies that it had evolved a similar administrative infrastructure by an even earlier date.

While the ‘parish masters’ and the devolved wardenships for building projects and alms were oligarchic, they nonetheless served as socially integrative forces. For the parish administration to embark on such projects, and authorise payments on behalf ‘of the whole parish’ could be interpreted as presumptive and undemocratic, but it would appear that in reality it served as ‘leading by example’. For while St Mary’s vestry each donated 20s or more to the cost of the north aisle, the building programme that they initiated greatly augmented the number of donations for the church works by more humble parishioners in the 1490s, relative to the preceding period. By focusing upon commemoration as a common cause, in which all could benefit through the elaboration of divine service and the setting of that divine service, the initiatives of the parish management certainly succeeded. Whether deliberately or not, this created a form of corporate piety, and moulded the parish somewhat more into a ‘community of interest’, in addition to being a ‘community of place’. This breadth of community spirit can be glimpsed in the churchwardens’ accounts of St Mary at Hill, which reveal ‘popular’ sources of income for parish funds:

Item, of Sir Iohn Plommer of gaderyng on hokmondaye	Summa xxvij s viij d
--	----------------------

Item, Receuud the laste yere by the wymen xx s,	Summa xxvj s viij d. ⁸⁷
---	------------------------------------

⁸⁶ A. G. Rosser, “Parochial Conformity and Voluntary Religion in Late Medieval England,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser. 1 (1991): 174.

⁸⁷ GL MS 1239/1 f.139.

The parish served as a venue for various coexisting, parallel, yet overlapping, social activities and groups. Undoubtedly there were residents of the parish who successfully avoided involvement or performed the minimum obligation by paying tithe and attending occasionally on Sundays, and perhaps sought their spiritual engagement from the friars, other fraternities, or not at all. Yet wills and parish documents reveal that many sought more active involvement in the parish – administration involved a far wider group than simply the churchwardens, including a variable and wider body of ‘parishioners’ – prominent locals who actively contributed to church funds. This process successfully involved others, attracting donors and creating a ‘common cause’ for the parish as a ‘community of interest’. Similarly, fraternities served as another community of interest as a subset of the parish, allowing social solidarity amongst those of similar status but differing trades within the local area.

Glimpses also appear of other social networks operating within the parochial environment, albeit less clearly documented. The large numbers of clergy supported by the pious actions of parishioners past and present created another dimension to local society, and reflected the status of the locality. As explored in Chapter 8, as well as associating with each other, the differing ranks of clergy formed social bonds with differing groups of lay residents, emphasizing the dynamic relationship between the parish as an institution and as a place.

7 Neighbours in Life, Neighbours in Death

No other epoch has laid so much stress as the expiring Middle Ages on the thought of death. An everlasting call of *memento mori* resounds through life.¹

The cult of intercession for the dead can be seen as an incubus dominating the religion of the living, but it makes just as much sense to see it as a means of prolonging the presence of the dead within the community of the living.²

Glimpses can be gained of many aspects of the day-to-day lives of the local parish churches and their parishioners, yet they are nothing compared to our knowledge of the relationship between parishioners and their parochial community at the time of their death. Whether the medieval preoccupation with death was a reality, or reflects the colouring of our judgement by the preponderance of surviving sources, is hard to judge. However, by far the most common source for the prosopography of medieval townsmen and women is the will. While the will functionally provided for the dispersal of an individual's estate, it is far more intimately concerned with their intentions for the immediate aftermath of their death. Invariably this concentrates upon acts of piety, and of memorialisation.

Most prominent amongst the components of a typical medieval will were provisions for the period immediately after death, and for ensuing commemorative activities. Many of these provisions can be interpreted as singularly religious, concerned with lessening the suffering of the testator in purgatory, when his sins would be expiated before entering heaven. However, examining the ways in which these memorials and services were instituted, it is also possible to begin to discern another aspect to their motivation: maintaining an active relationship between the dead and those whom they had known in life. The imperative for this active relationship between the living and the dead has been rehearsed at length elsewhere, but ultimately relates to the medieval understanding of purgatory. Speedy progress to heaven depended upon the intercession of the living and the saints: securing the good will and prayers of your neighbours was thus a very good idea.

This chapter explores the ways in which the behaviour of Bridgehead parishioners in the fifteenth century at and around their time of death demonstrated both a reflection of their ties to, and role within, the community. It examines the ways in which commemorative planning served to maintain the bond of the dead with the living, with particular focus upon the institution of the parishes, and of the religious fraternities which they hosted, as the spiritual nexus favoured by

¹ Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (London, 1924), 138.

² Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (London: Yale University Press, 2005), 303.

testators. The parish provided the greatest continuity between life and death, thereby emphasizing the importance of community in the spiritual life of the medieval Londoner.

7.1 Death and Individual Piety

Death has always been regarded as a natural occasion for atonement, and for the medieval Englishman, commissioning the seven corporal works of mercy in order to speed passage through purgatory. Historical examination of a concept such as ‘individual’ or ‘personal’ piety is fraught with problems, primarily regarding the nature of the source material. The examination of wills provides a particular account of any one individual’s dying wishes, but can nonetheless be used to form a wide ranging view of the pious mores of the parishioners of the Bridgehead.

‘Tithes and oblations by me forgotten or withholden’

Almost universal amongst pre-reformation wills was a bequest for ‘tithes and oblations forgotten or withheld’. This clause was so common as to be customary. It is unlikely that everyone making such a bequest had literally forgotten or withheld tithe payments, especially when, the sums in question generally follow convention in being 6s 8d, or multiples thereof. Comparison with the 1494 tithing list, published in 1502 by disgruntled St Magnus parishioner Richard Arnold, actually reveals that 6s 8d, or multiples thereof, was not actually that common an annual tithe assessment. The wide range of tithe assessments for St Magnus’s parishioners, based upon annual rental value of their home, following a strict proportional relationship, equating to 3s 6d in the pound, or 17.5% of the annual rental value of a property, whether commercial or domestic.³ The relationship between these tithes and ‘tithes and oblations forgotten’ is not direct, or even roughly proportional. Assessed tithes range from 14d to 42s, while ‘tithe’ bequests typically range from 6d to 40s, with a few conspicuous outliers.⁴ While it has only been possible to match a small number of St Magnus’ parishioners’ tithe assessments with their wills, this demonstrates that conventional ‘tithe’ bequests can serve only as a most approximate indicator of the testators’ actual tithe liability. William Alye, Bowyer, who had the lowest tithe assessment at 5s 10d made the lowest ‘tithes and oblations’ bequest of 20d. Robert Seton, who was assessed at 8s 2d, and Roger Middleton, assessed at 17s 6d, however also made ‘tithes and oblations’ bequests of 20d. Similarly William Hoppy, had the highest liability at 25s 8d but donated only 3s 4d, while Richard Clarke who was only liable for 10s 6d, donated double that amount.

³ This is conventional, see: A. G. Little, “Personal Tithes,” *English Historical Review* 60, no. 236 (1945): 76.

⁴ Arnold, *Arnold’s Chronicle*, 224.

Table 7.1 – 1494 St Magnus the Martyr tithe assessments matched with parishioners’ wills and ‘tithes and oblations’ payments. [all sampled wills]

Name	Rent	Tithe Offering	Death	Will Offering	Notes
Maystres Newman	46s 8d	8s 2d	(1486)	(6s 8d)	(widow of Edmund)
[Robert] Holmeby	£3	10s 6d	1494	3s 4d	
Roger Middelton	£5	17s 6d	1496	20d	
William [H]oppy	£7 6s 8d	25s 8d	1496	3s 4d	
William Alye	33s 4d	5s 10d	1497	20d	Bowyer
William Bow[y]ar	£3 6s 8d	11s 8d	1498	3s 4d	
Thomas Petite	£10 13s 4d	37s 4d	1498	(none, 6s 8d Hever)	Memorial SMM
Thomas Morton	£3 6s 8d	11s 8d	1498	20d	
Robert Seton	46s 8d	8s 2d	1498	20s	
Hew Saundir	33s 4d	5s 10d	1500	(none)	Bowyer
Richard Clarke	£3	10s 6d	1500	6s 8d	
John Ben[ne]	£4	14s	1500	missing	
William Haroweled	56s 8d	10s 2d	1501	-	-
William Adkynson	£3 16s	13s 5d	1502	-	-
Robert Bartilott	£4 6s 8d	18s 8d	1503	-	-
John Smythe	£4 13s 4d	16s 4d	1504	-	-

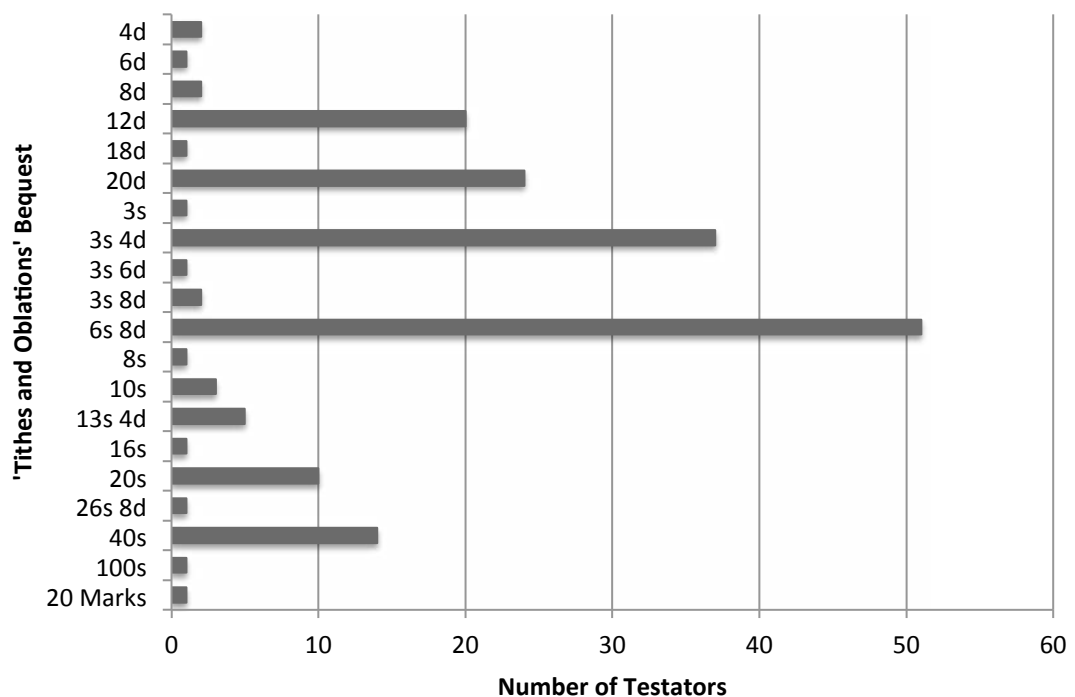


Figure 7.1– Distribution of bequests for ‘tithes and oblations forgotten or withheld’ [all sampled wills] (n=179)

Tithes were naturally a significant proportion of the income of the parish clergy: Arnold’s tithe assessment shows a total tithe income for 1494 of £75 8s 8d from residential properties, and a further £12 3s 3d from ‘the shops in Bridge Street’. The other incomes of the church amounted to

only £17, including £12 13s 4d from ‘weddings, burials and purifications’.⁵ Clearly, however, ‘tithes and oblations forgotten’ was a distinctly different element of a parishioner’s contributions towards their church.

In a small but notable number of cases testators left their ‘tithe’ bequest to a church other than the one which they requested burial. These provide an insight into the potential forms of relationship between the parish and parishioner. Frequently where a tithe bequest is made in a separate church from burial, the former is referred to as ‘where I am now parishioner’. Yet burial and often other bequests and arrangements to a different church indicate that it must have represented their ‘spiritual home’. Frequently testators engaging in such a division of parochial loyalty are widows, perhaps favouring the parish in which they lived with a first or favourite husband, while compelled by circumstances to live elsewhere and thus pay tithe accordingly. Johanna Payne-Childe-Kerville, for example, was a parishioner of St Peter Cornhill by the time of her death in 1487, but chose burial at St Botolph Billingsgate, ‘in the tomb of my late husband John Payne’.⁶

Many testators made bequests to parish churches other than that in which they lived, often in a similar form to those bequests for tithes. Sometimes this can be explained by individuals having moved, while maintaining loyalties to previous parishes, especially within London. Nevertheless, many bequests were made to seemingly random parish churches throughout the country. These are almost exclusively explained by a description, recollecting that the church in question was where the individual was christened, or in the town or village where they were born, providing valuable evidence for migration into the neighbourhood. Thomas Petite (d.1498), for example, while requesting burial at his parish of St Magnus, in place of the conventional bequest for ‘tithes and oblations’ in his will, made a bequest of 6s 8d to the parish church of Hever in Kent, described as where he was born. He also donated two torches to the church of Minstead in Sussex, where his mother was born.⁷

Table 7.2 – Rural churches in bequests by Bridgehead testators. [all sampled wills]

Testator	Trade	Death	Parish	Rural Church(es)
Mazera Aghton	Widow(fishmonger)	1404	St Magnus	Bletchingley, Surrey
William Brampton	Stockfishmonger	1405	St Magnus	Brampton, Hunts.
John Wolde	Rector	1412	St Botolph	Scaldwell, Northants.
John Hert	Haberdasher	1413	St Magnus	Bletchingley, Surrey
Thomas Dunham	Fishmonger	1452	St Magnus	‘most needy in 20 mi’
Helen Warbulton	Widow(Ironmonger)	1454	St Mary	Ware, Herts.

⁵ Ibid., 224-8.

⁶ PROB 11/7 Wattys 11.

⁷ PROB 11/11 Horne 39; Minstead is now in Hampshire.

				Amwell, Herts.
Stephen Forster	'Merchant'	1458	St Botolph	Staunton, Som.
John Clerke	Salter	1486	St Mary	Hornchurch, Essex
William Prune	Tallowchandler	1496	St Mary	Newport Pagnell, Bucks.
Thomas Ryvell	Grocer	1497	St Mary	Byfield, Northants.

'Tithes and oblations' therefore represent not a direct or practical offering for the parochial dues to which the parishioner had been liable, but instead a customary donation to the high altar and rector of a church. That they could be made to a church other than that where the testator was buried clearly shows they were not representative of payment for that service. Likewise, equivalent payments, although not presented as 'tithes', were made to other churches demonstrates that their function was more commemorative than practical, serving to emphasize the testator's place in the parish community and secure good-will, and of course prayer, from the clergy.

Burial

Almost all wills (278 of 294) contain a specification of where the testator wished to be buried.⁸ The actual detail of the ritual of burial is seldom specified with any great degree of detail. Typically a testator simply recorded that he wished to be buried 'in the churchyard of' or 'in' their parish church. All but the very shortest of wills also call for candles and other embellishments for the funeral service itself. From the mid-fifteenth century it was common to specify more detail, for example those at St Magnus requesting burial in the new or old cemeteries, or at St Mary at Hill in the great or pardon churchyards. As is so often the case with wills, however, the information of greatest interest appears in only a small number of the records: some wills contain detail not only of the location of their burial, but of the range of individual religious rites which comprised the funeral and also followed it, as well as the provision of candles and charitable acts as part of the same ritual.

Almost all testators chose their parish church as their burial location. Only 10% of testators from the Bridgehead chose to be buried in a different location, such as a different parish, a friary or abbey. The greater part of the small number who did not choose their parish church specified another parish church, usually one with which they had a personal connection, but may not have happened to live in at the time of death. This reflects the trends found in Harding's wider study of burial choices in the city, confirming that variety in site of burial was very much the exception rather than the rule.⁹

⁸ The exceptions are typically the small number of wills created for a specific purpose when a testator's interests fell in two jurisdictions, for example a will in Husting concerning burgage land in London and a Prerogative Court will concerning all other matters, including burial.

⁹ Harding, "Burial Choice and Burial Location in Later Medieval London," 122.

Table 7.3 – Burial locations. [all sampled wills]

Burial Location	Number of Testators	Percentage
Parish (Parishioner)	252	90.6
Parishes (London)	11	4.0
Unspecified\executors choice	5	1.8
Monastery	3	1.1
Rural Parishes	3	1.1
Friary	2	0.7
St Paul's London	2	0.7

The actual process of burial was more of a community ritual than a choice designed to display a specific act of devotion, and explains this lack of variation. The medieval funeral was spread over two days, and actively involved not only the clergy, but the whole household of the deceased and also, by intention the whole community. Presuming a ‘good death’ at home under predictable circumstances, the process would begin with the attendance of the parish priest to perform the final unction, or *viaticum*.¹⁰ The subsequent stages of the funerary process were the responsibility of the household: the women of the house, or other intimate family members or neighbours, would perform the washing and dressing of the body, usually sewing it into a shroud. It was then the responsibility of laymen, again probably members of, or connected to, the household, to carry the body in a bier or (probably communal) coffin, to the church that afternoon, possibly in procession complete with palls and candle-bearers. Clerical involvement resumed on the evening that the body was brought to the church with the *Dirige*, or vespers of the dead. Burial occurred the next morning, when the priest first marked out the site of burial and then conducted the mass of *Placebo* and *Requiem* while the gravedigger prepared the cut.¹¹ Thus the ceremony was very much a family, and public, event. Philippe Aries’ 1981 suggestion of the ‘privatisation of death’ through the later medieval and early modern periods is contradicted by archaeological evidence of the display of death.¹²

Attracting Prayer

Almost every aspect of the pre-reformation funeral can be interpreted as deliberately attracting publicity. Purgatory is now recognized as integral to the medieval religion, and especially to the concept of death. In awareness of the need to pass through this transitory state and pay the penalty

¹⁰ William Caxton, *The Arte [and] Crafte to Knowe Well to Dye* (Westminster, 1490).

¹¹ Roberta Gilchrist and Barney Sloane, *Requiem: The Medieval Monastic Cemetery in Britain* (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2005), 23-4.

¹² Ibid., 6; Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

for their sins, testators sought to benefit from the intercession of both the living and the saints by invoking prayers from their living successors: prayer united the Church Triumphant in heaven, the Church Militant on earth, and the Church Suffering in purgatory were connected in the search for salvation.¹³ Thus that the funeral ceremony itself involved so many from the community immediately implicated them in this 'community of prayer'. Choices made regarding aspects of the burial subsequent to the ceremony itself show even more explicitly the way in which death was exhibited to the community.

The physical location of a burial within the church or churchyard enabled a testator to advertise his or her burial. Gravesites closest to the altar of a church were the most desirable, for the closer to the location of the performance of mass, the greater the benefit for the soul of the dead in purgatory. All evidence suggests that this was just as common a principle in parochial contexts as in monastic cemeteries.¹⁴ While canon law dictated that burial was an obligation upon parish churches, for which they could not charge any more than the wage of the gravedigger, this applied only to graveyards. The closest locations to the altar were inside of the church, and for this the parish could charge. Harding suggests a hierarchy of burial locations within London parish churches, beginning with free-of-charge burial in the churchyard, ranging through small payments for burial in cloisters, to fees of 6s 8d and above for burial in the body of the church itself.¹⁵ The situation in the parish churches of the Bridgehead was slightly less clear-cut, for in the extremely constrained sites of the riverside area it was not possible to offer the full range of options. At St Magnus the cloister effectively replaced the cemetery, meaning that free burial was apparently still offered there. No other churches in the area had cloisters and St Botolph had only a detached cemetery, offering poor proximity to the altar, leaving the body of the church itself as the only alternative. St Mary at Hill, by contrast, had a 'pardon churchyard', located to the south, evidently invoking some kind of Episcopal benefit for those buried there, and thus attracting a fee of 2s for each burial.¹⁶ St Margaret Bridge Street likewise had north and south cemeteries, as well as burials inside the church and in a location referred to as the 'parson's parlour', probably located close to the altar. Within the churchyard several of St Margaret's parishioners chose locations with particular markers: Thomas

¹³ This concept is explored thoroughly in: Clive Burgess, "'Longing to be prayed for': Death and Commemoration in an English Parish in the Later Middle Ages," in *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 48.

¹⁴ Gilchrist and Sloane, *Requiem*, 56.

¹⁵ Harding, "Burial Choice and Burial Location in Later Medieval London," 131.

¹⁶ e.g. in 1496 burials in the Pardon churchyard attracted 2s while the 'pit and knell' for wealthy parishioners appears to have cost 16s 8d, Littlehales, *Records of a City Church*, 222.

Goldwell (d.1485) chose a location by the south wall of the church close to the image of St Christopher, Thomas Dunham (d.1452) requested a grave in the 'small' churchyard in the place where there was a crucifix, and Thomas Robinson (d.1491) a location in the churchyard near the procession-way before an image of the Virgin.¹⁷ These specific locations within the churches and their churchyards served both to enhance proximity to divine service, and to remain in a place visible to parishioners and family.

The most common specification of precise location was not topographical in terms of features of the church, but in terms of other burials. Of 183 testaments specifying a location in greater detail than simply the parish, while the majority simply specify 'churchyard' or 'body of church', at least 55 make reference to another grave. Most of these are requests to be buried in, or next to, the grave of a late husband or wife. Often, where a husband predeceased his wife, she would act as executor (husbands were directly responsible for burial of their wives), and therefore by implication had already chosen the location of their partner's grave. Widow Mazera Aghton (d.1404) requested burial where her husbands Robert and Gilbert were buried in the church of St Magnus, clearly implying that she had served as executor to both and had chosen to bury them together, and thereby imposing a symbolic centrality for herself.¹⁸ In some cases a request of joint burial is accompanied by mention of a pre-existing tomb or monument. For example, Elizabeth Keys (d.1483) mentioned the grave of her husband in the cloister of St Magnus' marked with a 'marble stone with scripture and picture of John Key and Elizabeth'.¹⁹ Other particular requests for joint burial typically relate to other relatives, Richard Toky of St Magnus (d.1410) wished to be buried next to his father at St Edmund Lombard Street, and John Clerke of St Mary at Hill (d.1486) wanted to be buried in the Pardon churchyard 'at the south side at the hed[stone?] wher my children lyeth buried'.²⁰ Stockfishmonger and Alderman John Michell (d.1441) somewhat unusually requested burial next to the body of his friend and colleague William Brampton.²¹ That such choices had more than a practical or pecuniary implication is surely confirmed by William

¹⁷ 'Parson's parlour' referred to by John Burton (†1498); Thomas Goldwell: PROB 11/7 Logge 16; Thomas Dunham: GL MS 9171/5 f81v; Thomas Robinson: PROB 11/8 Milles 36.

¹⁸ HR 133(64).

¹⁹ ComReg6 f.362v.

²⁰ GL MS 9051/1 226v; ComReg6 f.362v.

²¹ PROB 11/3 Luffenham 29.

Hall's (d.1500) request to buried within the church of St Mary at Hill 'nigh to the pewe that my wife sat in while she lived in hir last daies'.²²

Choosing to be buried close to the altar of a church may have had spiritual benefits in terms of proximity to the sacrament, but it did not necessarily secure any enduring greater level of prayers from the living. In order for the dead to 'reach out' to the living, it would be necessary to mark out a grave to ensure its visibility, and thus its place in their consciousness. The standard medieval grave covering, it would appear, was simply a mound of earth: the back-fill from the grave. Archaeological evidence suggests that flowers and foliage accompanied some burials, so it is possible that graves may have been marked above ground with similarly ephemeral materials.²³ In order for a burial to stand out and actively prompt remembrance, a substantial permanent marker was often deemed appropriate by testators and executors.²⁴

William Turke, Fishmonger of St Margaret Bridge Street, specified in his will of 1480 that his burial should be covered with a stone slab inscribed 'with scriptur thereupon remembering my nam and the names of my seyd wife and Johanne my daughter to thantent to have owre sowles prayed for'.²⁵ Turke's detailed wishes regarding his tomb were, typically, the exception rather than the rule. Fourteen testators requested a 'slab' or permanent monument of some kind explicitly in their wills – while clearly a minority, still a considerable number. It seems likely that the real number of memorials was actually higher, for again wills cannot present the whole picture. John Goderyche (d.1492) requested that his executors arrange for a tomb of 'broke' and stone at St Magnus', and it is likely that other testators, for instance wives, as discussed, also did so without explicit instruction.²⁶ Memorials and tombs were, fortunately, an early area of interest for antiquarians, and it was John Stow who first set about documenting memoria in London churches, already having to rely on documentary evidence following the destruction that accompanied the Reformation. This work was continued and enlarged by Strype, and probably gives a reasonable indication of the extent of the large and conspicuous memorials (Table 7.4).

²² GL MS 9171/8 f.208.

²³ Gilchrist and Sloane, *Requiem*, 185.

²⁴ The various options are discussed in: Nicholas Rogers, "Hic Iacet ...: The Locations of Monuments in Late Medieval Parish Churches," in *The Parish in Late Medieval England*, ed. Clive Burgess and Eamon Duffy, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 14 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2006), 261-281.

²⁵ ComReg6 f.300.

²⁶ PROB 11/9 Dogett 21.

Table 7.4 – Memorials to fifteenth-century parishioners referenced by Stow, and in wills. [all sampled wills]

Name, Stow's Notes	Year (d) Stow	Testamentary Reference
St Botolph Billingsgate		
Nicholas James, Ironmonger, Sheriff	1423 ✓	-
William Rainwell, Fishmonger	✓	-
John Rainwell, Fishmonger, Mayor 1426	1445 ✓	-
Stephen Forstar Fishmonger, Mayor 1454, and Agnes his wife	✓	-
William Bacon, Haberdasher, Sheriff	1480 ✓	'marble stone' - PROB 11/9 Dogett 10
John Paris	1485 ✗	'stone' – PROB 11/7 Logge 20
Richard Johnson	1486 ✗	Slab costing 20s, Trinity Chapel - Com.Reg. 7 f66v
St Mary at Hill		
William Cambridge, Mayor	1420 ✓	
Richard Goslin, Sheriff	1422 ✓	
John Steward Tallowchandler, Sheriff. (Arms: Or, a Chevron between three	1456	Strype
William Morys, stockfishmonger	1458 ✗	'marble stone' – Com.Reg. 5 f.242v
Cardina Uxor Johannis Stroder Mil. & Johannæ ejus filia	1471	Strype
William Phillip, Sergeant at Arms	1473 ✓	
Robert Revell, Sheriff	1490 ✓	
William Remington, Mayor, 1500	1500 ✓	
St Magnus the Martyr		
Henry Yevele, Freemason "monument remaineth" Chapel St Mary	1400	Strype
Richard Winter, Stockfishmonger	1407	Strype
William Brampton	1405 ✓	'under memorial stone' - PROB 11/2 Marche 12
John More	1413 ✗	'marble stone' – HR W141(100)
John Michell, Mayor	1436 ✓	
Elizabeth Keys	1483 ✗	'marble stone with scripture and picture of John Key and Elizabeth'
John Goderyche, grocer	1492 ✗	'tomb of "broke" and stone' - PROB 11/9 Dogett 21
Thomas Petite, tailor	1498 ✗	'marble and brass stone' - PROB 11/11 Horne 20
St Margaret Bridge Street		
Thomas Dursle, fishmonger	1438 ✗	'memorial stone where my late wife buried' – Com.Reg. 4 f.68
William Turke, fishmonger	1480 ✗	stone slab inscribed 'with scripture thereupon remembering my
Katheryn Clerke	1495 ✗	'under marble stone near image St John' - PROB 11/10 Vox 26

An unusual example comes from the church of St Margaret Bridge Street, described by Stow as having no monuments at all. Strype relates that he was approached by Mr Wood, then parson of the church, regarding a previously forgotten monument. He found it to be:

... the figure of a man of good respect, lying upon his tomb, according to the manner of persons of antiquity. And this inscription he delivered me, written with his own hand:

*Joannes de Coggeshal, Civis & Cordarius de Parochia S. Margarete de Bridgestreet, London. Anno 1384. An. Reg. Richardi Secundi, Octavo. Testamentum irrotulat. in Hustingo London, die Lune in Festo S. Leonardi Abbatis. An. Reg. Richardi Secundi, 9.*²⁷

While it is unclear if this refers to a transcription of an inscription on the tomb, or research by Parson Wood, it correctly refers to the will of Coggeshall in the Husting Rolls. Strype's description of how 'he lyeth buried in the said church wall, under the marble stone in the window, next to St. Peter's Altar on the north side of the church' also corroborates the specification of the will, which requested that he be buried before the altar of St Peter, in the tomb which he had constructed in his lifetime.²⁸ It was likely that others may have done the same without feeling the need to reiterate its presence in their will. Conversely it was entirely possible for such a memorial to be constructed by the deceased's executors, without specific written instruction.

Memorials were certainly a very visible way of attracting the attention of the living, and thus maintaining the place of the dead within that community, but despite being cheap by comparison with a chantry, they were a luxury that only a minority of local residents could afford. Nonetheless, many more testators from the Bridgehead's parishes sought to maintain their memory in other ways.

²⁷ Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, 176.

²⁸ HR114(39).

7.2 The Enduring Presence of Parishioners after Death

The medieval view of the afterlife became 'transactional', founded upon a covenant between the living and the dead.²⁹

At the heart of all post-obit provisions in the wills of medieval Londoners was the desire to be remembered. The continued need for aid to assist the passage of the soul through purgatory required remembrance of the plight of the departed as a prerequisite to their continued intercession. Charitable works could provoke others to remember the dead and physical and symbolic presence, and as we have seen, both placed the dead closer to the spiritual world of the living and could inspire their memory, and, hopefully, prayer. Yet the most effective way of reminding the living of the dead was to directly engage their prayers by ensuring that religious services were actively held in their honour.

By making provision for services, from a simple set of masses, to an on-going programme of annual anniversaries or even daily services in the form of a chantry, a testator could ensure that his memory remained after his death. Such an active service, both visually and audibly announcing itself, and appropriating at least some space of the church, could perhaps be even more effective in attracting the attention, and prayers, of the living than could a passive call to prayers 'set in stone'.

Commemorative Masses

The most popular form of ensuring prayer for the deceased was to have a mass celebrated on their behalf. This generally took the form of the *Placebo*, *Dirige* and *Requiem*. While it can be assumed that this would naturally be performed as part of the funeral service, a great number of testators sought to expand upon this. Almost all bequests to friars and especially to the Charterhouse were accompanied by a request that in return the testator would be 'remembered in their prayers'. Margaret Michell, of St Magnus' (d.1452), for example, specified that 26s 8d should be distributed amongst London's friars so that they would pray for her, while John Gyse of St Botolph's (d.1494) donated 'a barell of good white hering' to the Observant Friars at Greenwich, so that they would remember him in ten masses.³⁰

Further masses were expected by a great number of testators in the form of a 'months' mind'. Essentially this was an individual obit: it repeated the masses of *Dirige* and *Requiem* of the original funeral service one month after death. The first month had traditionally been seen as the time when the soul of the recently deceased was most liminal.³¹ The number of testators explicitly requesting a

²⁹ Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 24.

³⁰ PROB 11/4 Stockton 3; ComReg 8 f.79

³¹ Gilchrist and Sloane, *Requiem*, 26.

month's mind service was far from a majority, yet the way in which it is referred to in those implies a degree of assumption, perhaps only specifying where they intended their service to differ from the norm, for example by payments of doles to the poor. Thomas Morys (d.1418) requested his month mind at his parish of St Magnus, allowing a cost of 20d, while John More who died four years earlier specified that 26s 8d be spent on his month mind at the same church.³²

Many testators went further, leaving bequests to pay not only for masses in multiple locations, but for repetitions of those masses. Supplementing the month mind, Stephen Forster requested a mass be conducted every day for a week at St Magnus' following his death, with a farthing for every attendee; John Michell (d.1441) requested both evening and morrow masses at the same church for twenty days following his death.³³ More common than arbitrary masses was a trental: a set of thirty masses of *requiem* repeated over thirty days, or the more elaborate 'trental of St Gregory', which spread the masses over a longer period.³⁴ Of 49 requests for masses in sampled wills, 40 were trentals or combinations of trentals.

Location	Number of Testators Specifying Trentals
St Botolph	4 (1)
St Magnus	6
St Mary at Hill	8
St Margaret	7 (1)
Friars (all)	10
Monasteries	4
Other	1

Table 7.5 – Trentals specified in sampled wills (those attached to chantries bracketed). [all sampled wills]

The trental was frequently combined in diverse ways to maximise not only the number of prayers secured, but also to maximise the number of different locations in which the individual was to be remembered, and thus maximise the number of people who would hear his call to memory. John Develyn (d.1488), for example, requested 10 trentals following his death: the first was to occur at his parish of St Mary at Hill, the Crutched Friars were to perform the second, the Blackfriars the third and fourth, and then the Grey Friars, the White Friars and finally the Austin Friars would complete the sequential programme of prayer, each being paid 10s for their contribution.³⁵ By contrast John Gyse (d.1494), merchant of Antwerp who was resident in St Botolph Billingsgate took the opposite approach, requesting:

³² ComReg 3 f18; ComReg 2 f264

³³ PROB 11/4 Stockton 15; PROB 11/3 Luffenham 29.

³⁴ Richard Pfaff, "The English Devotion of St. Gregory's Trental," *Speculum* 49, no. 1 (January 1974): 75.

³⁵ PROB 11/8 Milles 14.

[on] the day of my dethe a trental of masses that is to wit X masses in the said churche of Saint Botolff. X masses at the Crossefryeres besyd the tower o London, and X masses in the church of the fryeres of Grenwich in the county of Kent.³⁶

Other combinations of masses involved concentrating as many masses as possible into a short period. Grocer John Kypping (d.1479) requested 300 masses (i.e. ten trentals) as soon as possible after his death at his parish of St Margaret's.³⁷ William Reynewell (d.1403) and John Prophet (d.1415) both requested that a St Gregory trental be celebrated by their chantry chaplains as an annual anniversary.³⁸ The most notable feature of commemorative masses requested in wills, however, is the fact that they were, relatively, more commonly held at Friaries than, for example, chantries or even burials; nonetheless, a clear majority were held at parish churches. Friars would appear to have been primarily employed to access to the collective prayers of a whole mendicant house, in order to concentrate and multiply the performance of prayers immediately following death.

Obits and Anniversaries

Following the rush of commemorative activity that accompanied death and the ritual of the funeral, the parishioner anxious to be remembered could enact further provisions. Most accessible was the anniversary or *obit*. As implied by the name, an anniversary service was normally an annual service conducted to commemorate the death of its founder. Just like the actual funeral service, the anniversary took place over two days, and consisted of the *Placebo*, the *Dirige* and the *Requiem* mass. The recreation of the funeral service was so literal that a coffin or bier, draped with the parish or company cope, was often present before the altar.

The cost of an anniversary could range from a minimum of the 8d per annum spent by Maude Hicheman when endowing an anniversary for herself and her husband at St Mary at Hill in 1456, to the 20s per annum endowed by Ironmonger Richard Warbulton at the same church in 1447.³⁹ It would appear that a few pence per year was sufficient to secure the services of the parish clergy to actually carry out the service – additional money was needed to involve the parish clerks and churchwardens. Thomas Petite, tailor of St Magnus', outlined in 1498 that his anniversary service would entail payments of 4d to each priest officiating, but 12d to each churchwarden.⁴⁰ The bulk of

³⁶ ComReg 8 f.79.

³⁷ PROB 11/7 Logge 3.

³⁸ PROB 11/2 Marche 5; PROB 11/2 Marche 33.

³⁹ ComReg 5 f.229; PROB 11/1 Rous 12.

⁴⁰ PROB 11/11 Horne 20.

the expenditure of many anniversaries, however, was on doles for the poor, conducting a work of mercy, but also encouraging the widest possible attendance at the service. Mazera Aghton provided detail in her testament of 1404, specifying that her service would include payments of 20d to the Rector, 20d for the ringing of bells; payments to each chaplain and each clerk of 8d, and 20s to be distributed to poor.⁴¹

Anniversaries have often been cast as the ‘poor relation’ of the chantry, for they offered usually only one, or perhaps two, sets of services per year rather than 365.⁴² However, as Burgess illustrates, their purpose is distinct from a chantry: ‘doubtless they might hope to derive some benefit from the celebration of a mass. Their main object, however, was to make their presence and needs as real as possible ... to commend their soul in prayer’.⁴³ Thus payment of a dole to the poor can be seen as a fundamental component, ensuring that there was an audience to be reminded. Generally those anniversaries endowed for the longest periods of time, over ten years, or in perpetuity, were those with the largest charitable component. By contrast, those of ten or fewer years in duration appear to have had typical total expenditures of 10s per annum or less, 6s 8d, as ever, being a common sum. Partly this must reflect the fact those of more limited means, and therefore incapable of endowing a perpetual institution, were also incapable of providing generous doles for the poor, instead wishing to attain the optimal balance. However it also seems likely that with increasing durations of anniversary arrangements, the less likely it would have been for those who would ‘naturally’ attend, such as friends and family, to remain alive themselves, hence the need for pecuniary inducements for longer foundations.

The great majority of anniversaries were located in their founder’s parish church: only five of those identified were to be held either at monastic or mendicant churches, or in parish churches outside of the city. The reason for this is clear – the purpose of the anniversary was to remind relevant people to pray for them. Just as many anniversaries of shorter term needed little in the way of endowment because they were designed to interact with those likely to attend without inducement, such as friends and family, the location of the anniversary was likewise designed. Holding an anniversary service at a parish church connected with their founder naturally meant that it was in the immediate environment of those connected to them in life. Monastic anniversaries, while they might have engendered prayers, could do comparatively little in terms of connecting the dead with their former associates.

⁴¹ ArchReg 1 f.137v.

⁴² K. L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge, 1965), 3.

⁴³ Clive Burgess, “A Service for the Dead: The Form and Function of the Anniversary in Late Medieval Bristol,” *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 105 (1987): 191.

Perpetual anniversaries were a clear majority in Burgess' study of fifteenth century Bristol anniversaries, yet amongst those found in the wills sampled here, they barely constitute a majority.⁴⁴ Numbers of fixed-term and perpetual anniversaries are roughly equal, but nearly as common as either were those of indeterminate length. These were anniversaries dependent on either the amount of funds available, or the survival of other individuals. John Frere, hosteller of St Mary at Hill (d.1444), specified that either his wife or mother, who ever lived the longer, should pay 6s 8d per annum for his obit, while Roger Smallwoode, plumber of St Botolph Billingsgate (d.1497) endowed an anniversary at St Mary Abchurch (one of three at different churches) at 10s per annum for the remainder of the term of the lease of a property which he held, which would provide the funds from rents.⁴⁵

Perpetual endowments for anniversaries almost exclusively involved the bequest of lands to the church entrusted with providing the services, in order to provide a continuing annual rent. However, with costs for basic anniversaries beginning at less than 10s when rents in this prime area of London represented many times this, there was often a surplus. Thomas Badby, Fishmonger, who died in 1445, explicitly left his parish of St Margaret a 'whole tenement' in Crooked Lane, which he had purchased from Richard Polyhull, for the purpose of conducting an anniversary for himself, and another for Nicholas James, late alderman, each costing 6s 8d per annum, as well as a small dedication at Danbury in Essex costing 3s 4d. Husting deeds reveal that the original transaction by which he bought the property was SMFS E2: almost certainly of greater annual value than the 16s 8d of obligations placed upon the church.⁴⁶ Therefore the churchwardens responsible for administering the bequest and the anniversary would have been likely to have had an operating surplus in most years, allowing further works to be carried out in the name of the benefactor, and perhaps most importantly, re-enforcing their memory of him.

Anniversaries were often paired with chantries, contradicting any claim that an anniversary was a 'second class' alternative to a chantry. Richard Warbulton, Ironmonger of St Mary at Hill (d.1447) left a tenement and wharf to his parish to fund a chaplain, who was also to be responsible for observing an anniversary service at which 20s was to be distributed amongst the poor.⁴⁷ John Prophet, Fishmonger of St Margaret's (d.1415) endowed a chantry for three years, but also specified

⁴⁴ Ibid., 193.

⁴⁵ ComReg 5 f.118; PROB 11/11 Horne 39.

⁴⁶ ComReg 4 f169v; HR 159(53).

⁴⁷ PROB 11/1 Rous 12.

that his chaplain should celebrate a trental of St Gregory as his anniversary.⁴⁸ Such a request would have had little value if the only purpose of an anniversary were to simply increase the number of masses said, rather it highlights the importance of the obit as a service designed for publicity. Hence Katheryn Clerke's establishment of dual anniversaries both at St Margaret Bridge Street and at St Stephen Walbrook, her burial place and official parish, respectively, both of 10 years, each with 5s to spend per annum.⁴⁹ A more obvious choice would have been a more richly endowed service at one church, which would probably have been able to include a dole to encourage the poor to attend, yet she clearly wished to be remembered in death by parishioners of both of the parishes which had featured in her life.

⁴⁸ PROB 11/2 Marche 33.

⁴⁹ PROB 11/10 Vox 26.

Table 7.6 – Summary of anniversaries detailed in sampled wills, with year of establishment, location of anniversary, duration and details. [all sampled wills]

Name	Occupation	Year	Location	Anniversary	Term	Notes
Agnes Lytton		1486	St Botolph Billingsgate	2	10	mark salary for 2 years for obit for her and John Parys
John Toby	Haberdasher	1484	St Botolph Billingsgate	7	7	years obit: placebo, dirige and mass of requiem by note, 10s annually including food and drink for all present
Richard Johnson	Priest	1486	St Botolph Billingsgate	8	8	years at 10s pa
Roger Smallwode	Plumber	1497	Barking Abbey	10	10	year obit Barking Abbey
Richard Segrym		1495	St Botolph Billingsgate	10	10	3s 4d p.a. masses "solely by note with ringing of bells"
Johanne Childe-Kerville	Widow	1487	St Botolph Billingsgate	20	20	s p.a. (parishioner of St Peter Cornhill)
Roger Smallwode	Plumber	1497	Dartford Nunnery	30	30	year obit at Dartford nunnery
Roger Smallwode	Plumber	1497	St Mary Abchurch	INDET	INDET	remainder of leases tenements for obit 10s pa
William Stafford	Vintner	1458	St Botolph Billingsgate	INDET	INDET	3s 4d towards obit of John Reynewell
John Paris	Pewterer	1485	St Botolph Billingsgate	PERP	PERP	anniversary kept for ever 6s 8d
Roger Smallwode	Plumber	1497	St Botolph Billingsgate	PERP	PERP	perpetual obit SBB from tenement Pudding Lane SMBS
William Reynewell	Mercer	1403	St Botolph Billingsgate	PERP	PERP	annual St Gregory Trental attached to chantry
Philip Darneton	Fishmonger	1485	St Magnus The Martyr	1	1	honest priest for one year
Margery Catell	Widow	1494	St Magnus The Martyr	7	7	
Henry Smyth	Stockfishmonger	1489	St Magnus The Martyr	10	10	5s 4d each priest, 4d each clerk
John Rypon	Mercer	1485	St Magnus The Martyr	13	13	3s 4d to be distributed each year
Matilda Rose	Widow	1458	St George Botolph Lane	21	21	total expenditure £3 10s
Mazera Aghton	Widow	1404	St Magnus The Martyr	40	40	from rents Newark Priory; 20d to high altar, 20d for bells; each chaplain and clerk 8d; 20s distributed to poor
Guy Quartermayn	Goldsmith	1414	St John Zachary	INDET	INDET	residue estate
John Sawyere	Fishmonger	1410	Rossen?	INDET	INDET	Land in Colchester feoffed for anniversary 100s Rossen, money for maidens
Isabell Freecok	Widow	1479	St Magnus The Martyr	INDET	INDET	residue to fund as long as possible
Elizabeth Beaufitz	Widow	1488	All Hallows Barking	PERP	PERP	to buy 40s rent property to pay for obit at All Hallows Barking
Thomas Petite	Tailor	1498	St Magnus The Martyr	PERP	PERP	each priest 4d, churchwarden 12d, residue distributed by churchwardens, funds from Southwark property
Richard Wynter	Stockfishmonger	1412	St Magnus The Martyr	PERP	PERP	funds from Bridge Street shop, including placebo, dirige by note
Richard Wynter	Stockfishmonger	1412	Minoreesses	?	?	annual anniversary, including placebo, dirige etc by note

Name	Occupation	Year	Location	Anniversary	Term	Notes
Katheryn Clerke		1495	St Margaret Fish St		10	10 years at 5s pa at each SMBS & St Stephen
Roger Worth	Glover	1485	St Margaret Fish St		INDET	Wife to attempt to find priest
Robert W'haplode		1428	St Margaret Fish St		PERP	Quit rent to pay for
Thomas Badby	Fishmonger	1445	St Margaret Fish St		PERP	6s 8d pa obit, given whole Property in Crooked Lane
John Profyt	Fishmonger	1415	St Margaret Fish St		PERP	chantry chaplain to celebrate St Gregory Trental as anniversary
William West	Marbler	1447	St Margaret Fish St		?	
John develyn		1488	St Mary At Hill		10	10s p.a. priest, clerk and children singing plain song, residue dole
Mawde Hicheman	Widow	1456	St Mary At Hill		12	for self and John late husband, 8d p.a.
Thomas Breteyn	Ironmonger	1485	(Ironmongers' Company)		20	to be arranged by Ironmongers' Company
John Frere	Hosteller	1444	St Mary At Hill		INDET	Wife or mother, during lives, to pay 6s 8d for obit
Agnes Baker	Widow	1458	St Mary At Hill		INDET	Residue for anniversary John Greeting and Richard Pepper at church St Alban
John Colyns	Chaplain	1476	Bottisham, Cambs.		PERP	House in churchyard Bodekysham given to Fraternity BVM to say obit on Sunday first after feast St Ethelrede
William Morys	Stockfishmonger	1458	St Mary At Hill		PERP	from rent of place in Tower Street
Richard Warbulton	Ironmonger	1447	St Mary At Hill		PERP	(additional to chantry) 20s between poor of parish
Helen Warbulton	Widow	1454	St Mary At Hill		PERP	20s for obit Richard late husband from £20 rent

Chantries

The characteristic commemorative foundation of the late medieval period was undoubtedly the chantry. In the search for a means to speed progress through purgatory, the chantry was the most comprehensive option. Based upon the premise that masses and prayers said in honour of the deceased would benefit their soul proportionately, by arranging for a dedicated priest to say masses daily, at least 365 would be conducted each year. Wood-Legh traces the first formally instituted perpetual chantry in England to Henry of Blois (d.1171), and the idea itself from an elaboration of the earlier medieval trend amongst the nobility to endow monasteries in return for specific commemorative services.⁵⁰ By the late fourteenth century the form of the personal or family chantry was sufficiently established, and the principle of parishes as corporate land-holders secure, that they were commonplace, especially amongst the urban elites.

At least 67 chantries were founded in the wills sampled in this study, eleven of which were perpetual. The Chantry Certificates of 1547 reveal some twenty distinct chantry foundations between the four churches of this study, so more than half of the total had been founded in the sixty years of the fifteenth century sampled. The great majority of chantries were temporary: ranging from Henry Crane's foundation of a chantry at St Magnus' in 1486 which was to run for only six months, to Thomas Badby's twenty year chantry to be held in the chapel of Mary at St Margaret's from 1445.⁵¹ Table 7.7 illustrates that foundations of between two and five years were the most common temporary establishments. As with anniversaries, endowments of a fixed sum of money, or income from a lease of fixed duration were provided for some chantries, such as Alice Wodelake (d.1486) who specified that the residue of her estate should provide for a chantry at St Magnus' 'as long as it lasts'.⁵²

Within the diversity of chantries a number of common features emerge. Most pragmatically, the cost of almost all chantries was established at 10 marks per annum throughout the century. In 1416 Thomas Bolde established a chantry for himself, his father and brother, at St Magnus' for one year with a cost of 10 marks, while William Bowyer was able to establish his chantry at the same church in 1498 at exactly the same cost.⁵³ Some testators paid slightly more, perhaps in hope of securing a better qualified priest: Anneys Brews founded her chantry at St Magnus' with £50 in 1480, with the intention that it should pay a chaplain an annual salary of 11 marks, while the most generous

⁵⁰ Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain*, 1, 4.

⁵¹ PROB 11/7 Logge 25; ComReg 4 f.169v.

⁵² ComReg 7 f.87.

⁵³ ComReg 2 f.358; ComReg 8 f.185v.

foundation was that of Richard Johnson, whose chantry in the Trinity Chapel at St Botolph's was endowed to pay 20 marks per annum over two years.⁵⁴ Almost all testators specified that their chaplain should be 'honest', 'learned' or of 'good conversation' while towards the end of the century many specified that he should always be in attendance at all times of divine service within the church. It was also increasingly common in the 1480s and 90s for testators to specify that their chantry should be conducted 'by note' – musically. This elaboration of conditions in the late part of the century could simply reflect the increasingly verbose nature of testaments.

Table 7.7 – Fifteenth Century foundations of perpetual and fixed-term chantries in parish churches recorded in wills, with number of surviving perpetual chantries in the 1548 Chantry Certificate. [all sampled wills]

	<i>Perpetual (1548 Cert.)</i>	<i>12 or more</i>	<i>6-11 Years</i>	<i>2-5 Years</i>	<i>1 Year or less</i>	<i>Indeterminate</i>	<i>Total Fixed Term</i>	<i>Total in 15thC Sample</i>
St Botolph Billingsgate	0(3)	1	5	6	3		15	15
St Magnus the Martyr	5(6)	1	1	8	7	4	21	26
St Margaret Bridge Street	1(4)	1	1	8	1		11	12
St Mary at Hill	5(7)	0	1	2	4	2	9	14

Some testators sought to ensure the quality of their chantry priest by establishing arrangements during their lifetime, enabling them to 'quality control' the chaplain and his manner of service. Johanna Payne-Childe-Kerville outlined in her will of 1487 that she had already established a chantry at St Botolph's three years ago at Christmas, which was endowed for ten years at the standard rate of 10 marks per annum. Mazera Aghton, however, went even further in this manner in her will of 1404, nominating her current private chaplain 'Master John' to staff her three year chantry at St Magnus's.⁵⁵ Thomas Mockyng, himself a clerk, established a perpetual chantry at St Magnus' in his testament of 1428 with unusual levels of detail. It was to be funded from a rent of 10 marks annually derived from 'le Castell' and three attached shops in Bridge Street (SMM BX), and should employ a

suitable and honest chaplain sufficiently learned in theology, to hold and occupy the position, celebrating daily and forever at the altar of St Laurence in the church of St Magnus aforesaid for testator's soul and for souls of Thomas and Alice his father and mother.

⁵⁴ PROB 11/7 Logge 1; ComReg 7 f.66v.

⁵⁵ PROB 11/7 Wattys 11; ArchReg 1 f.137v.

Mockyng specified:

if at the time of the testator's death citizens of London may not bequeath in mortmain as they have been accustomed to do in the past or if after the testators decease such tenements bequeathed in mortmain are withdrawn from mortmain by statute or legal processes by which the testators afore-written bequests from his tenement and three shops are invalidated then testator bequeaths that the said tenement and shops be sold by the rector and four parishioners of the said church of St Magnus, money issuing from the sale to be distributed for testators soul and souls aforesaid in pious and charitable work.⁵⁶

This is not the complete story, for tracing the history of 'le Castell' further back into the late fourteenth century, it emerges that the tenement had already been left to the church of St Magnus once before: Thomas' father, also Thomas Mockyng, had left it to his son only for the term of his life, thereafter it was to be sold and the proceeds used to fund a temporary chantry. In 1381, however, Thomas junior bought the reversion from the rector and churchwardens. By then leaving the same property to the church himself he was not only doubling the pecuniary benefit to the church, but was effectively re-founding his father's chantry as a perpetual chantry. Fortunately for Mockyng his endowment proved sufficient, and his chantry was indeed respected and priests hired (until the time of the dissolution of the chantries). Clearly his detailed conditions regarding his foundation stemmed from direct experience as a cleric, and he evidently sought a chaplain able to match his level of learning (one of his executors was an Oxford man, suggesting his theological training).

Some chantries were not to endure as their founders had intended, for even as the chantry certificate notes in 1548, the finding of replacement chaplains had ceased in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. William Brampton's chantry, established at St Magnus's after his death in 1405, was endowed with a tenement and wharf which yielded a rent of £9 p.a. in 1548, yet it was noted that 'no priest has been found for the past twenty years'. Meanwhile, however, Andrew Hunte's chantry was operating at a cost of £8 p.a. while only yielding £6 13s 4d.⁵⁷ With the salary of a chaplain remaining constant at 10 marks throughout the fifteenth century, it would seem that falling rents were more likely to be a concern than increasing costs. The will of Andrew Hunte, Girdler (d.1440) reveals the funding of an early chantry failing: in bequeathing 'le Kynges Head' to the church of St Magnus, rather than simply found a chantry for himself, he re-founds that of Roger de Oxon, who had died as long ago as 1307. Hunte explained that:

Because of certain omissions and other ambiguities, uncertainties and obscurities contained in wording in the testament of the said Roger de Oxon the finding of the

⁵⁶ HR 157(56).

⁵⁷ Kitching, *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificates, 1548*, 24.

said chaplain has ceased and very likely would have continued so in future contrary to the good will and intentions of the said Roger in peril of the souls of the possessors and tenants of the said tenement. Present testator desires that Roger's meritorious intention be effected.⁵⁸

In further detailing the chantry, Hunt refers to a 'penalty' of 40d, perhaps relating a quit-rent associated with the property which had originally been intended to fund services for Roger. This he left along with the standard 10 marks per annum to fund the chantry, which was dedicated not only to Roger de Oxon, but of course himself, and John Marchaunt Fishmonger, Thomas Robeland Armourer, Richard Malt Stockfishmonger, who had all acted as his feoffees when originally purchasing the Kings Head, and one Thomas West, and all of their wives. Thus one failed chantry was taken, modified, and reformed as a shared chantry.

Table 7.8 – Perpetual chantries founded by parishioners in studied fifteenth century wills. [all sampled wills]

Name	Trade	Year	Parish	Notes
Henry Yevele	Mason	1400	St Magnus	
Margaret Wotton	Widow	1404	(St Laurence Poultney)	Parishioner St Magnus, rent from 'le Cok'
William Brampton	Fishmonger	1405	St Magnus	
Thomas Mockyng	Clerk	1428	St Magnus	At altar of St Laurence
Andrew Hunte	Haberdasher	1440	St Magnus	Reinstating chantry Roger de Oxon, rent from 'Kings Head'
John Michell	Stockfishmonger	1441	St Magnus	Two chaplains
Thomas Dursle	Fishmonger	1438	St Margaret	
John Weston	Ironmonger	1407	St Mary at Hill	
John Olney	Fishmonger	1411	St Mary at Hill	
Richard Gosselyn	Ironmonger	1428	St Mary at Hill	
Richard Warbulton	Ironmonger	1447	St Mary at Hill	
John Develyn	?	1488	St Mary at Hill	rent from lands in Old Bailey

Gifts of Objects

Another strategy employed by medieval Londoners to ensure continued memory in their parishes was the donation of physical objects to the churches. Most commonly these bequests would be of fabric and garments, or liturgical vessels. By donating such things, a parishioner was not only providing something which would be intimately associated with the sacraments, but also indebted the parish to him or herself, qualifying as a benefactor worthy of prayer, and additionally placed an object associated with himself in the public gaze. Likewise, commissions for specific 'ornaments' or works upon the fabric of the church served the parallel purposes of qualifying as a good work, and promoting the memory of the donor. Unlike a general bequest to the fabric or works of a church, or even toward a large specific project, gifts of objects were discrete benefactions that a testator could complete in one stage, and so derive sole credit for.

⁵⁸ HR 174(27).

Table 7.9 – Summary of detailed bequests of objects to parish churches in sampled wills, ordered by date of testament. [all sampled wills]

Year	Name	Trade	Parish	Notes
1437	Margaret Langrych	Widow	St Margaret	best <i>mappa</i> [cloth]
1452	William Martyn	Chaplain	St Magnus	vestments and newly made <i>toga</i>
1459	Richard Hylle	Haberdash.	St Magnus	£4 for vestments
1459	Joan Forde	Widow	St Margaret	<i>unum mappam et unum towaile diaprei</i>
1459	Joan Forde	Widow	St Margaret	image of Mary worth £2 for chapel of Mary
1473	William Overey	Stockfishm.	St Magnus	canopy for sacrament £10
1479	Nicholas Vavesour	Brasier	St Mary At Hill	20s toward "the gilding of the ymage of our lady on the north side of the high altar", to be done in 2 years
1490	Thomas Masse	Scrivener	St Margaret	Making new copes 6s 8d
1494	Margery Catell	Widow	St Magnus	£10 for ornaments
1498	Thomas Petite	Tailor	St Magnus	high altar "a qoutidian cheseple with my marke and name on the back side and "other things thereto belonging for a priest to sing mass" value 26s 8d or 30s

While general bequests for the ‘fabric’ of the parish churches were quite common, featuring in at least 62 of the sampled fifteenth century wills, bequests for specific, personal, objects were rare. Only ten testators detailed specific ornaments and vestments that they wished to donate to the church (detailed in Table 7.9). Of these, half left money simply for new vestments or ornaments, two of the earlier testators left personal objects such as extant cloth to be used on the altar, but of most interest is Thomas Petite’s 1498 bequest for vestments specifically marked with his ‘mark’. This was the most explicit example of using this kind of donation to promote memory of the individual. Personal donations of objects to parishes is an area where the evidence of wills can be examined with the greatest objectivity. Inventories exist of the parish churches of medieval London in the form of Bishop Ridley’s commission of 1552 and, in the case of St Margaret Bridge Street, also from 1472, recorded in the parish cartulary compiled by churchwarden Hugh Hunt.⁵⁹ This was examined in Chapter 6.

⁵⁹ Walters, *London Churches at the Reformation*, 212, 344, 360, 449.

7.3 Parish Fraternities

Parish fraternities were the archetypal voluntary associations of the later middle ages. The secondary literature dealing with the practical and symbolic nature of religious fraternities need not be rehearsed here.⁶⁰ Suffice to say that they conformed to the stereotype of the ‘communal chantry’, often with ‘friendly society’-like functions such as burial provisions, and (usually) operated within the parish environment but with a certain degree of freedom with some degree of exclusivity in their membership. Each of the parish churches studied here played host to at least one fraternity at any one point during the fifteenth century.

Table 7.10 – Parish fraternities with dates of first and last reference. [all sampled wills]

Church	Fraternity	First Ref.	Last Ref.	Bequests
St Botolph	St John Baptist (& Our Lady)	1446	1500>	13
St Botolph	Fraternity of Our Lady	<1397	1467	5
St Mary at Hill	St Christopher	1451	1494>	5
St Mary at Hill	St Katherine	1444	1500>	12
St Mary at Hill	St Anne	1476	1497>	10
St Margaret	St Christopher	1491		1
St Margaret	Our Lady	1494		1
St Margaret	Our Lady & St Christopher	1496		1
St Magnus	Salve Regina & St Thomas	<1403 (<1370)	1500>	58

Bequests to fraternities reveal that only at St Mary at Hill was there unambiguously more than one fraternity at any one time: those of St Anne, St Christopher and St Katherine all attracting bequests at overlapping times and all had their own altars. Although the fraternity of St Katherine attracted the most bequests, it was the earliest recorded of the fraternities, first mentioned in a will dated 1444. The fraternity of St Anne, first recorded in a will of 1476, actually accumulated a greater number of bequests if considered on an annual basis. The fraternity of St Christopher, while confirmed in its presence by wills of 1451 and 1494, attracted fewest bequests in all, perhaps indicating declining popularity, or falling prosperity and thus will writing among its adherents.

St Botolph’s presents a different picture, for while two different dedications are recorded in wills, it appears that they were the same institution. The fraternity of Our Lady was recorded from at least the closing decades of the fourteenth century, appearing in a will dated 1397, and is last specifically named in will dated 1467.⁶¹ In 1447, however, the will of Margaret Shedde, widow, donates a wax

⁶⁰ e.g. A. G. Rosser, “Party List: Making Friends in English Medieval Guilds,” in *London and the Kingdom: Essays in Honour of Caroline M. Barron*, ed. M. P. Davies and A. Prescott, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 16 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2008); Barron, “The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London.”

⁶¹ Richard Tykenore, HR 126(151); John Payne, HR 197(18).

torch to the fraternity of St John the Baptist and Our Lady, a title that is used with far greater frequency throughout the remainder of the century.⁶² It appears that the same single fraternity had rededicated itself to St John the Baptist in addition to its original dedication to Our Lady, and perhaps attracted more adherents and bequests in the process. Such ‘chameleon-like’ dedications were common, the fraternity of St Katherine at nearby St Andrew Hubbard became the Fraternity of Our Lady and St Katherine, and eventually the Fraternity of the Holy Trinity, Our Lady and St Katherine.⁶³

The fraternity of Our Lady and St John was one of relatively few guilds of sufficient wealth to be featured separately in the 1548 chantry certificates, where it was recorded as having accumulated lands worth £14pa, of which £8 6s 8d was spent on the employment of a chaplain.⁶⁴ Appended to the chantry return is an inventory of the fraternity’s goods, which includes twelve sets of vestments, including one decorated with the dolphins of the Fishmongers’ Company arms, and one of cloth-of-gold, eleven altar cloths, and a hearse cloth worth £4. Silverware also featured, including a jewelled gilt cross, weighing eight-score ounces, worth in total £25 1s.⁶⁵ This generous endowment, both in terms of goods and income, puts this individual fraternity on a par with some parishes, clearly showing the degree of popularity, and loyalty, which it inspired amongst its brothers.

The situation at the church of St Margaret Bridge Street is less clear, with considerably fewer bequests to fraternities in general, the first emerging in a will of 1491. This is to the fraternity of St Christopher, while the second bequest is to the fraternity of Our Lady in 1494, and the final one in 1496 to the fraternity of St Christopher and Our Lady.⁶⁶ While this could represent a similar story of merging of fraternities with different dedications, given the small total numbers it could simply be that the two references to the single dedications are errors or shorthand for an already extant fraternity of dual dedication. St Margaret’s had a dedication to St Christopher from as early as 1441, when Thomas Dursle left money specifically for sustaining an image of St Christopher and its *porticum ultra dictus ymagius*. In 1485 Thomas Goldwell specified in his will that his burial should

⁶² ComReg 4 f.203v.

⁶³ Burgess, “London Parishioners in Times of Change,” 52.

⁶⁴ Kitching, *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificates, 1548*, 7.

⁶⁵ TNA E301/132.

⁶⁶ Elizabeth Swayne, ComReg 8 f.285v; Johanne Rede, ComReg 8 f.75; William Garold, PROB 11/11 Horne 15.

be in the churchyard ‘under south wall on south side as nygh to the image of St Christopher as it can convinently be’.⁶⁷

Fraternities, being inherently ‘spontaneous’ institutions, dependent on their members’ continued support for their very existence, were fluid in several respects. While fraternities could theoretically disappear just as easily as they appeared, in reality it was common for them to be rededicated to new and perhaps more fashionable saints or cults, or merged, either to unite incomes and provide for superior consolidated services, or to deal with declining enthusiasm for one or another. Barron identifies the mid-fifteenth century as a time when reorganisation and amalgamation were common, including, for example, the fraternities of SS Fabian and Sebastian at St Botolph Aldersgate, which merged in 1446.⁶⁸ The fraternities held by London’s Dutch residents provide another example: while a dedication to the Holy Blood of Wilsnack was maintained, its venue moved from the church of Crutched Friars to that of the Austin Friars between the 1460s and 90s.⁶⁹ In this context the shifting dedications of the fraternities held in these churches is less of note than the fact that there was explicit continuity between the mid fourteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The Fraternity of Salve Regina and St Thomas

St Magnus the Martyr deserves special attention: while, like neighbouring St Botolph, St Magnus apparently had only one major fraternity with a dual dedication by the end of the fifteenth century, it was an exceptionally prosperous one. This was the fraternity of *Salve Regina*, and St Thomas. This was the only one of the local parish fraternities to have featured in the Ricardian guild returns of the fourteenth century, and the also earned its own section in the chantry certificate of the sixteenth, when its income totalled an impressive £49 16s 8d per annum.⁷⁰

The fraternity was founded in 1343 by ‘Ralph Chaplain called Bailiff, William Double fishmonger, Roger Clovill chandler, Henry Boseworth vintner, Stephen Lucas stockfishmonger and diverse others of the better of the parish of St Magnus’. The guild returns of 1388-9 provide details of the fraternity’s foundation and operation. Its original purpose was to conduct an anthem of *Salve Regina* every day, accompanied by the burning of five tapers. To support this, the original members each paid ½ d per week. A feast was held each year on the Feast of the Assumption. The fraternity

⁶⁷ ComReg 4 f68, 68v, 70v,71; PROB 11/7 Logge 16.

⁶⁸ Barron, “The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London,” 22.

⁶⁹ Justin Colson, “Alien Fraternities and Alien Communities in Fifteenth Century London,” *The London Journal* 35, no. 2 (2010): 111-43.

⁷⁰ Kitching, *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificates, 1548*, 25.

quickly acquired both lands, and ornaments, in 1388 including two chalices, each worth five marks, a cover for its altar of Our Lady, and three sets of vestments. Perhaps most important, however, was the bede roll, which maintained the names of members in 'perpetual memory'. The ordinances imply that most members would pay to be enrolled during their lifetime, paying between 5 marks and 20d depending upon their means, while 'some [paid] nothing until they are dead but promise and devise by their testaments'.⁷¹

The document explains the joint dedication of the fraternity to 'Our Lady and St Thomas' by the fact that there had previously existed a fraternity of St Thomas, which conducted services in the chapel of St Thomas upon London Bridge for the benefit of residents there. The church of St Magnus was, apparently, too small to receive all of its parishioners, and too 'ruinous'. This function for a fraternity is more commonly associated with rural locations and sparse parishes.⁷² At some time between 1370 and 1388, the two fraternities attached the parish decided to collaborate and contribute toward the rebuilding of the church of St Magnus. The fraternities merged, and the anthem of St Thomas was sung immediately after that of the *Salve Regina*. The commitment of the fraternity to the rebuilding is undocumented, but the fact that in 1388 these works accounted for a debt of £26 14s 4d, surely suggests a wholesale rebuilding, the majority of which was funded by the fraternity. Henry Yevele was a generous donor to both the parish and the fraternity, and had been involved in the construction, at roughly the same time, of the Bridge Chapel of St Thomas, suggesting he probably had a hand in this rebuilding.⁷³

In 1370 the fraternity obtained letters patent, costing £40, confirming its right to hold lands in mortmain. Such an early date for a parish fraternity charter is unusual; the other example being the fraternity at Botolph's that obtained its letters in 1371.⁷⁴ Clearly, these fraternities were particularly successful from this early date, and had particular need of the security concerning their holdings in mortmain. Despite the existence of this early documentation, the wardens and brethren of the fraternity in 1448 presented a petition for the confirmation of the fraternity's legal incorporation. The letters patent granted that:

⁷¹ TNA C 47/42/208 is faded, water damaged and largely illegible, however an undated nineteenth-century transcript exists as GL MS 142.

⁷² Rosser, "Communities of Parish and Guild in the Late Middle Ages."

⁷³ Christopher Wilson, "L'Architecte Bienfaiteur de la Ville: Henry Yevele et la Chapelle du London Bridge," *Revue De L'Art*, no. 166 (2009): 43-51.

⁷⁴ CalPR 1367-1370, p.448, 1370-1374, p.165.

the members may elect four wardens thereto and remove the same, that they be incorporate, having a perpetual succession and common seal and capable of acquiring lands, rents and other possessions, that the gild be called the gild of St. Mary and St. Thomas the Martyr of Salve Regina in the said church, and that the members may implead be impleaded in any court and meet together and make ordinances for their governance.⁷⁵

The properties and rents with which the fraternity was endowed were detailed, totalling eight property units and three quitrents. Intriguingly the rents and three of the properties were already in their possession in 1370, yet only one of them features in the 1548 chantry certificate, which nonetheless revealed an income totalling £49 16s 8d.⁷⁶

Table 7.11 – Bequests to St Magnus’ Salve Regina Fraternity. [all sampled wills]

Donor	Property	1370	1448
Henry Hale, Fishmonger	Shop, half solar and cellar in Bridge Street SMM	✗	✓
John Potman, Fishmonger	Tenement on fishwharf SMM	✗	✓
Stephen Lucas, Stockfishmonger	1/2 mark quitrent from tenement SMM	✓	✓
William Double and Ralph Bailey	6s quitrent from tenements St Leonard Eastcheap	✓	✓
Henry Yevele, Mason	4 shops with solars Gofair Lane, St Swithin	✗	✓
Andrew Hunt, Girdler	tenement late of John Gayton, Breadstreet, St Mildred	✗	✓
	tenement late of Robert Welton, Thames Street SMM	✗	✓
(late Boseworth)	tenement in Billingsgate ward SMM with quay	✓	✓
(late Boseworth)	6s 8d rent from tenement SBB	✓	✓
Roger Clorville, Chandler	tenement by latrine at foot London Bridge SMM	✓	✓
	2 shops on Drynkwat Wharf SMM	✓	✓

Clearly, so large an endowment of landed property demanded, and explains, the charter that the fraternity of *Salve Regina* had secured. The majority of its donations were, like those to the parish churches, somewhat humbler. As with ‘pious bequests’ in wills, most donations were of either 6s 8d and 3s 4d in ready money, the former being the price of inclusion on the fraternity bede roll for a year.⁷⁷ Other common bequests were, as normal, wax torches, often those bought for funeral services, including one noted by widow Joan Enfeld in 1484 as already ‘somewhat burnt’.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ CalPR 1446-1452, p.173.

⁷⁶ Two tenements known as the Kings’ Head in Bridge Street, this is listed as a chantry rather than with the fraternity: Kitching, *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificates, 1548*, 24.

⁷⁷ John Rypon (mercier, d.1485) PROB 11/7 Logge 14.

⁷⁸ ComReg 7 f.9v.

Particularly generous donations included £3 12s 8d from Henry Smith, Stockfishmonger, in 1489 and 10 marks from William Overy, also a Stockfishmonger, in 1480.⁷⁹ Overy requested that in return for his 10 marks he should be recognized as the fraternity's 'benefactor' for a year, securing him a special place in daily devotions. Thomas Petite, Tailor, probably had similar intentions when he requested in 1498 that he be remembered in the morrow mass daily for seven years (although he neglected to specify how much this would cost).⁸⁰ The most notable bequest came in 1480 from Anneys Brews, widow, of a 'standyng nutte covered in silver gilt', conceivably intended to serve as a new communal drinking cup.⁸¹

The range of trades represented amongst the *Salve Regina* benefactors was similar to that seen in local property ownership and amongst local testators generally. Stockfishmongers and Fishmongers were accompanied by Haberdashers, Tailors, Fletchers, Brewers and a smattering of other trades, including Scriveners and Wax-Chandlers. Humble occupations such as Watermen or men of the minor trades are absent, but of course are also very rare as will-makers generally. Widows were relatively well represented, reflecting the fact that women were welcomed into the fraternity, while John Ebyns, a chaplain, accompanied his bequest with a note that he was a brother of the fraternity as well as serving at St Magnus as a stipendiary.⁸²

⁷⁹ PROB 11/8 Milles 30; PROB 11/6 Wattys 38.

⁸⁰ PROB 11/11 Horne 20.

⁸¹ Gervase Rosser, "Going to the Fraternity Feast: Commensality and Social Relations in Late Medieval England," *The Journal of British Studies* 33, no. 4 (October 1994): 432.; PROB 11/7 Logge 1; OED s.v. *nut* n.1-2.

⁸² ComReg 8 f.244.

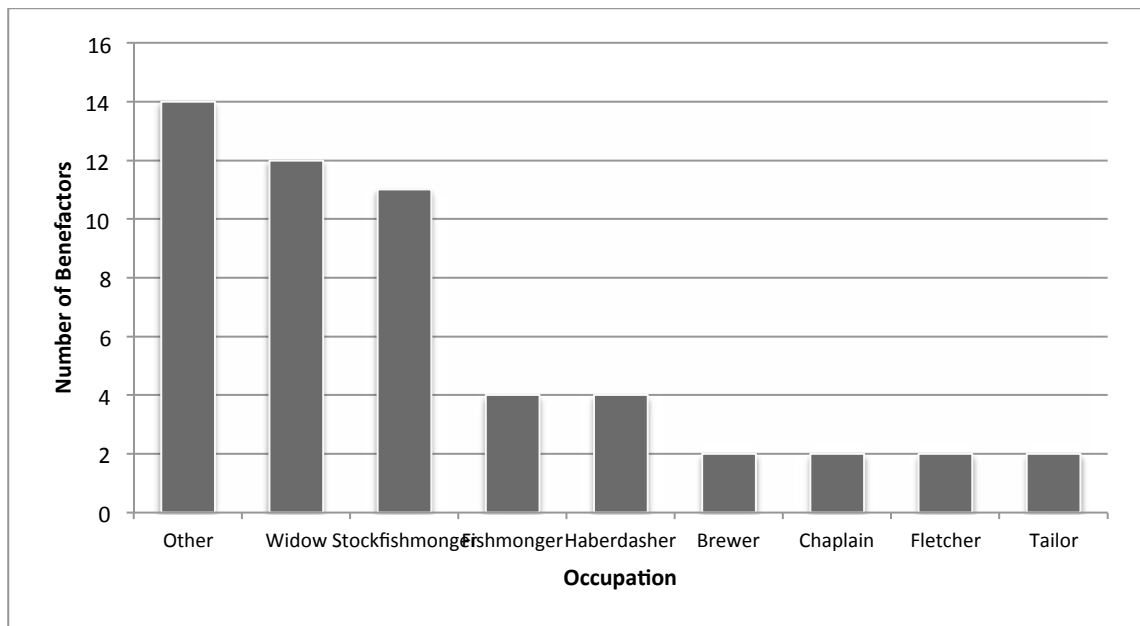


Figure 7.2 – Occupations of fifteenth century benefactors to the Fraternity of *Salve Regina* in sampled wills (multiple bequests by individuals counted once) [all sampled wills] (n=53).

The fraternity of *Salve Regina* accounts for eleven of twelve bequests to parish fraternities in the sample made by testators who were not resident in the parish in which the fraternity was located. This indicates that the appeal of the fraternity was greater than simply an ‘add-on’ to parochial life, but acted as a positive attraction, with which other Londoners would go out of their way to involve themselves. Distinct trends do emerge in these bequests: four of the bequests come from parishioners of nearby St Mary at Hill and two from neighbouring St Botolph Billingsgate. Five bequests to the *Salve* fraternity originate from parishioners of St Margaret Bridge Street prior to 1490, perhaps reflecting the lack of recorded fraternities there before this time. Clearly, therefore, the majority of bequests were local, but most were also of low value: it was common for the candles acquired for a funeral service to be distributed amongst local churches and fraternities, and this accounts for many of these cases. The one instance of a bequest to St Botolph’s fraternity of Our Lady and St John the Baptist by a non-parishioner was of only one wax torch from Margaret Shedde, widow of St Mary at Hill.⁸³ The most generous bequest to the *Salve Regina* was from Katherine Mason, widow of St Margaret Bridge Street, who left 13s 4d and a diaper cloth in 1485. Conversely, bequests by William West, Marbler of St Margaret’s (1447) and Roger Smallwode, Plumber of St Botolph Billingsgate (1497) were actually only reversions, which would take effect only in the case of default by the institution that they primarily intended to support (the Fishmongers’ Company and Smallwode’s home parish, respectively).⁸⁴ The sample used in this study precludes discovery of bequests by parishioners from other parts of the city, yet one case has been found: a bequest of 6s 8d by Thomas Derham, Fishmonger and parishioner of St Nicholas

⁸³ ComReg 4 f203v.

⁸⁴ PROB 11/7 Logge 16; HR 193(33); PROB 11/11 Horne 39.

Coleabbey, in 1499.⁸⁵ That the fraternity was recognized by an inhabitant of a parish so distant within the city, but related in its association with fish, is hardly surprising.

Fraternities *in* the Parish or *of* the Parish?

If the fraternity of *Salve Regina* at St Magnus was able to attract bequests, and therefore presumably membership, from Londoners resident in other parishes, was the reverse also true? Other religious fraternities did attract donations from Bridgehead parishioners: nine cases of bequests have been found to fraternities at other parish churches, and two to those at the cathedral of St Paul. These fraternities ranged in location from nearby St Leonard Eastcheap, where Richard Rede, Grocer of St Margaret Bridge Street, left a bequest to the fraternity of Our Lady in 1484, to Richard Broughton's bequest to the Fraternity of St Stephen at St Audoen Newgate in 1460.⁸⁶ The only fraternity to feature repeatedly is that of St Peter at St Peter Cornhill, which also attracted a donation from Richard Broughton, wealthy Stockfishmonger of St Magnus, who had interests throughout the city. Joan, his wife, also made a bequest in her will of 1492, by which time she was resident in that parish, but requested burial with her second husband at St Botolph Billingsgate.⁸⁷ The remaining bequest to St Peters was from Joan Kerville (née Payne, Childe), another fishmonger's widow. This fraternity had been founded in 1403 by the church's rector, William Aghton, along with prominent Fishmongers including William Brampton, William Askham and Walter Palmer, and had a strong and explicit relationship with the Fishmongers' Company, presumably explaining this popularity.⁸⁸ The same patterns emerge amongst those parishioners associating with other fraternities, as it is amongst other Londoners seeking membership of fraternities in the Bridgehead parishes.

The fact that the numbers of Bridgehead parishioners remembering links with fraternities in other parishes was limited indicates that, although it has not been possible to systematically sample wills from across the city, numbers of other Londoners being members of Bridgehead fraternities were probably limited. The eleven bequests by non-parishioners of St Magnus's to the *Salve Regina* fraternity, represents only 18% of the 58 bequests found in the sample of wills, with an even smaller number of these from outside of the neighbourhood. While likely to be an underestimate, it certainly appears that these parish fraternities remained primarily parochial institutions, rather than,

⁸⁵ ComReg 8 f.173.

⁸⁶ PROB 11/7 Logge 21; ComReg 5 f293v.

⁸⁷ PROB 11/9 Dogett 27.

⁸⁸ Half of the four (or two) wardens were to be Fishmongers, the others parishioners of St Peter's: *Sixth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (H.M.S.O., 1878), 412.

for example, serving a wider ‘community of interest’ or functioning, like the Fraternity of St Margaret in Westminster, as a ‘surrogate town council’.⁸⁹ Membership was open to others, yet far more often than not, membership was drawn from local parishioners, or sometimes those with a connection by trade, life cycle, or family to the parish hosting the fraternity

Parish guilds were very much a sub-set of the parish. While the lack of fraternity registers or bedes rolls for these guilds precludes any comprehensive consideration of their social composition, it is clear that they were to some degree exclusive. Enrolment and quarterage charges, common to all fraternities, would have excluded those on marginal incomes. The lowest value bequests to the fraternities were 12d donated to the fraternity of St Katherine at St Mary at Hill by Edward Dymock, baker, in 1447 and a few donations of 20d to each of the fraternities.⁹⁰ The great majority of donations were, however, of at least 3s 4d, or commonly 6s 8d. These bequests stood over and above the fraternity charges paid during life, indicating that at least those who remembered the fraternities in their wills were of reasonably prosperous means.

The close link between parish and fraternity was made especially clear in the churchwardens’ accounts of St Mary at Hill in 1512. Amongst the casual receipts for that year were payments from two of the church’s fraternities toward the installation of pews:

Rec. of the Bretherhed of Seint Christopher towards the making of the pewys in Seint John chapell	6s 8d
Item, rec. of the wardens of Seint Annys bretherhod	13s 6d ob. ⁹¹

That two different fraternities were contributing toward a general church cost can only confirm their attachment to the parish. Whereas, for example, the ‘alien fraternity’ of the Holy Blood of Wilsnack was prepared to move between friaries, these were emphatically ‘communities of place’.

Rosser has highlighted the functional aspects of guilds: in some contexts supplementing the inadequate institution of the parish where local geographical boundaries became irrelevant, for example to merchants or immigrants, or conversely serving as a subset of a parish when population growth made established boundaries irrelevant.⁹² This was the case with the fraternity of St Thomas prior to the rebuilding of St Magnus. However, these criteria would seem not to apply to the fifteenth-century fraternities of the Bridgehead parishes; instead, their ‘purpose’ appears to rest in

⁸⁹ Gervase Rosser, *Medieval Westminster: 1200-1540* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), 285-93.

⁹⁰ ComReg 4 f258.

⁹¹ GL MS 1239/1 f.352v.

⁹² Rosser, “Communities of Parish and Guild in the Late Middle Ages,” 34.

serving as a socially exclusive subset of the parish. Membership of any guild depended on a certain degree of conformity and respectability, for it conferred upon its members a unity and collective status. As the ordinances of the immigrant guilds held at London's friaries highlight most clearly, the reputation of the individual reflected upon the commonality and vice versa.⁹³ That the fraternities of *Salve Regina*, and of Our Lady and St John the Baptist, counted amongst their members some of the most prosperous local merchants, would certainly imply that the remainder of the members would have been expected to meet the social expectations and standards of the leading members. John Vache, for example, served as both as warden of the fraternity of *Salve Regina*, and warden of the Fishmongers' Company during the 1440s, indicating a rough parity of status between the two institutions.⁹⁴

Parish fraternities provided a forum and social identity for those prosperous parishioners seeking to differentiate themselves within the local community. They offered greater benefits, primarily in terms of commemoration and funerary service, than could the parish alone. Membership of a fraternity did not preclude involvement in the parish administration, or indeed of establishing a personal or family chantry or obit: it was certainly not antipathetic to the health of the parish itself, as has been suggested.⁹⁵ Rather than being strictly functional in offering social capital, or 'friendly society' style benefits to those unable to achieve these independently, sociability and friendship with like-minded individuals, and spiritual commemoration amongst such a group, would appear to have been a more significant motivation for membership.

Underpinning the religious fraternity as a community was, however, the understanding that it was a community of both the living and the dead. The bede roll was integral to the fraternity, while all bequests to fraternities were designed to invoke prayer. The closer relationships between guild-brothers, compared to mere fellow parishioners, undoubtedly served to heighten the expectation that past members would be remembered with enthusiasm in the prayers of their brothers and successors. Fraternity membership thus provided commemoration over and above that provided by the parish church itself, but not instead of it.

⁹³ Coote, "The Ordinances of Some Secular Guilds of London," 8-12.

⁹⁴ HR 188(12); HR 170(50).

⁹⁵ Brigden, "Religion and Social Obligation in Early Sixteenth-Century London."

7.4 The Community of The Living and the Dead

Death marked a vital juncture in an individual's interaction with his neighbourhood, but not the end of it: many believed that their afterlife in the parish would go on for longer than their time living within in. Arrangements for the afterlife reveal much about the relative importance of the parish, compared to the other religious options available within and around the City of London. The many 'pious' elements of fifteenth century Bridgehead resident's wills show not only that their parish, and perhaps former parishes, were by far the most important religious locations in their lives, but they also illustrate what they were sought from this relationship.

The primary motivation for pious acts within testaments was the desire for salvation. In order to achieve this, intercession was necessary during time in purgatory: to this end the community was just as essential as the inherent worth of any specific pious activity. Examining the implementation of pious acts and the search for intercession, it is clear that invoking and sustaining memory amongst the communities in which a testator had lived was central to all. While almost all pious activities were concentrated in and around London, or perhaps birthplaces of testators, almost all religious services and foundations were located within their parish churches. Memorialising arrangements, such as anniversaries and chantries, sought to engage the memory of the dead with the living, and inspire the prayers of their friends, neighbours and benefactors. While friars and monks were sometimes employed for these purposes, they were more commonly used for shorter-term prayers, and especially in the intense burst of activity that directly followed death.

The institution of parish was clearly the centre of the majority of medieval Bridgehead testators' intended relationship with their successors: surely implying that it had also played a central role in their lives. To establish a memorial – physical or spiritual – in a parish community was to express a wish to remain a part of that community. Furthermore this was a reciprocal system: testators knew that they themselves had provided those prayers that their predecessors had sought, and therefore perpetuated the system, placing their faith in their parish out of personal experience. That these neighbourhood parish churches were foci for this memorialisation also had implications for the living; they were places not only to interact with their neighbours, but also with their predecessors and ancestors. This had important implications for both the form of the parish church, and for the community that was attached to it.

8 Informal Networks

Institutions such as parishes were artificial constructs within the framework of personal interactions. They served as administrative units, bringing people together based upon their ‘community of place’. The majority of records available are direct products of these administrative units, and thus frame understanding in their own terms and within their boundaries. The practical experience of these institutions served to create reciprocal reinforcement: living within a parish meant that interactions and relationships were inevitably fostered within it, thereby creating a wider social meaning for that institution. Yet institutional relationships can never capture anything like the whole range of social interaction that took place within the neighbourhood. People mingled in innumerable ways and for countless reasons, including the simple fact of being neighbours, fellow guild members, or even just as friends.¹ This chapter addresses the evidence for local interaction beyond institutions: friendship, choice of executors and neighbourly obligation as witnesses, and the infrastructure of local sociability. It also examines the social spaces of the locality.

Evidence for an investigation such as this primarily comes from witnessed and enrolled deeds and wills. Many documents reveal significant detail surrounding the various legal events that they described. Depositions describe the circumstances in which a dispute arose: the location and those present. For example, consideration of the roles of executors and supervisors of wills, and the trends amongst their appointment, suggests that they can reveal *forms* of sociability or social network. Unlike, for example, relationships expressed through the parish organisation, these personal offices were appointed on a voluntary basis (if subject to custom). Other documents, such as indentures, deeds and wills, frequently included a statement of the witnesses present at their creation or enrolment, in addition to the use of a personal seal. Documents, it could be argued, gained their legitimacy as an abstract reference to a personal event, rather than representing the act of donation itself.

¹ For discussion of friendship in the late medieval period see: Rosser, “Party List”; Alan Bray, *The Friend* (University of Chicago Press, 2003).

8.1 Executors and Overseers

The choice of executors and overseers of wills was one of the most significant social interactions visible in the records generated by the residents of the fifteenth-century Bridgehead. The choice of executors was of extreme importance: their duties – to fulfil final wishes with regard to disposal of goods – had been established for centuries.² This role demanded considerable trust and therefore usually implied prior personal knowledge. While it was possible to nominate an attorney, notary or other legal professional, the most common choices were family, close friends and neighbours, or local clergy. The report of the executors of Thomas Kneseworth (Fishmonger †1513) reveals the scope of the work an executor could be expected to undertake. Of his executors – Christopher Grantham, Fishmonger, Ralph Thompson and Edmund Denny, only the first two acted, yet their task took them until June 1521 to complete and secure approval for their account, during which time they had distributed an astonishing £1847 4s 6d.³ This section explores the evidence for sociability that can be gleaned from the appointment of executors.

Table 8.1– Numbers of testators, executors, overseers and witnesses [all sampled wills].

	Total Number	Average\Testator
Testators	289	-
Executors	531	1.8
Overseers	129	0.4
Witnesses	185	0.5

The number of executors, and their overseers or supervisors, relative to the number of testators is shown in Table 8.1. The essential role of the executor meant that an average of 1.7 were appointed to sampled testaments. Overseers or supervisors were, however, much less common, with only between half and a third of testaments appointing someone to this position. While it is possible that witness lists were truncated in enrolment, correlation of original and Husting deeds in Chapter 2 showed no significant difference between the recording of witnesses between the original parchment deed and the enrolled copy. Details provided in the enrolled wills can, therefore, be taken at face value.

Simple averages of testators or overseers obscure the distribution of these offices amongst sampled wills. Of 324 testaments, only 285 possess a recorded executor. Therefore, despite the essential role of the executor, a record of their identity is absent in thirty-nine cases (most of these can, however,

² Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England*, 148.

³ Kneseworth had wills in both the Husting Court and the PCC, yet his executors' account was submitted to the Commissary, John Barett, for Approval at St Pauls on 22 June 1521: GL MS9277; HR 237(12).

be accounted for by illegibility or damage, or scribal error during enrolment). The average number of executors was 1.95 when only those wills possessing at least one are considered (i.e. those not subject to damage or error). Figure 8.1 illustrates that the greatest number of wills (110) had two executors, while nearly as many (104) had just one executor. While it was relatively common to have three executors, to have more than this was extremely rare. The exceptionally wealthy and influential Stockfishmonger William Brampton (†1406) had seven executors, including his wife and the rectors of his parish, St Magnus the Martyr, and of St Giles Cripplegate.⁴

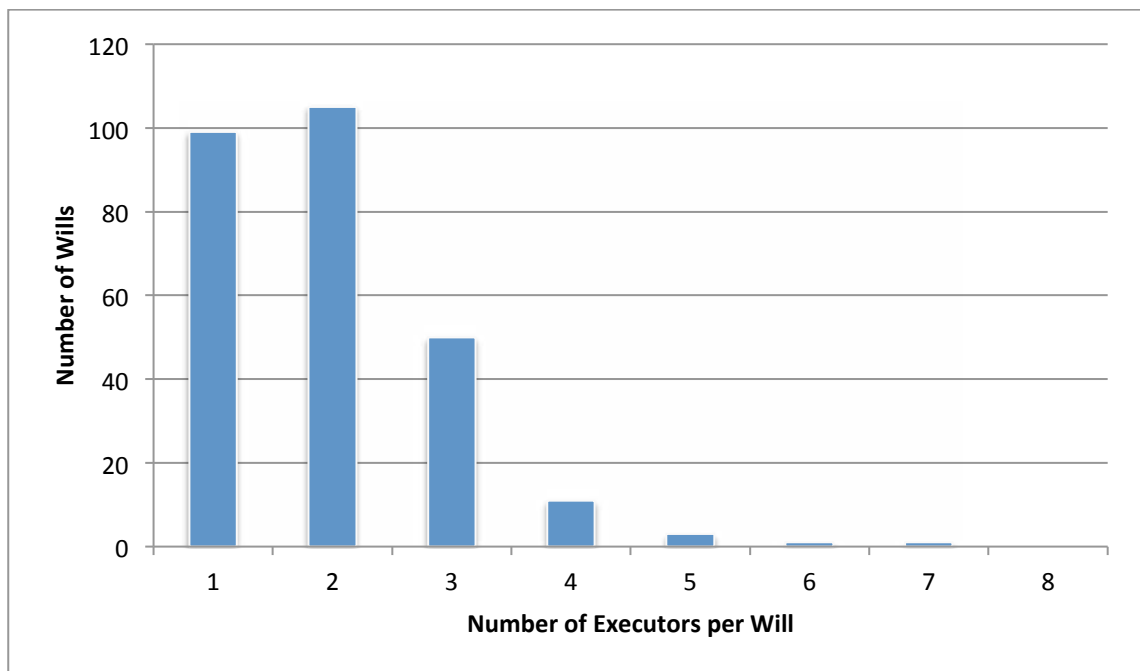


Figure 8.1– Numbers of executors per will (where at least one executor is recorded) [all sampled wills]

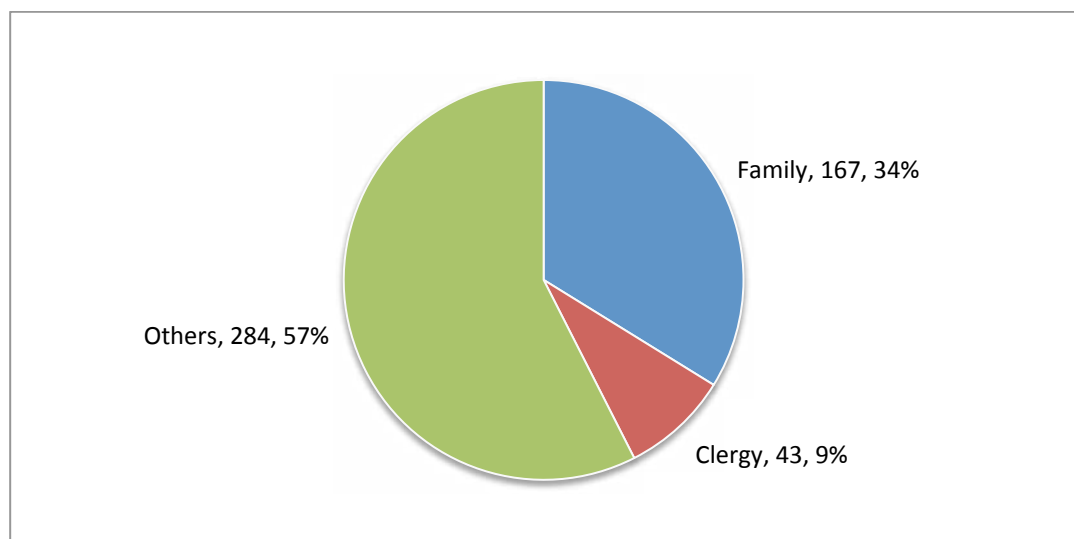


Figure 8.2 – Numbers and proportions of family members, clergy, and others, as executors to wills (n=494).

⁴ PROB 11/2 Marche 12.

Clear patterns emerge amongst executors. Chapter 6 discussed the role of clergy as executors, yet they represent only 9% of the identifiable executors (Figure 8.2). Their significance lies more in choice of clergy of different rank by different individuals, rather than in the appointment of clergy as executors generally. The largest group of identifiable executors were family: close kin account for 34% of the executors nominated in the sampled wills. Wives accounted for 75% of cases of family executors (Figure 8.3). A husband was nominated as executor to his wife in only one case, that of Agnes Lytton (†1486) who nominated her husband jointly with her daughter, as executors of her dowry from her previous marriage to John Parys, Pewterer.⁵ This reflects the fact that, excepting such cases, men had automatic right over their wives' goods, removing the need for her to make a will or appoint executors. The second most common family members nominated as executors were sons, followed by sons-in-law, reflecting the assumption that most daughters would be married, and thus legally *femme covert*, placing the onus on their husbands to fulfil such duties.

Where wives served as executrix, it was very often as sole executrix: in around half of all cases wives served as the only executor. Furthermore, in 59% of wills with only a single executor, that executor was the testator's widow. In all but one case these were wills with a 'tithes and oblations' payment of less than 10s, and the majority originated in the Commissary Court.⁶ While this is an imperfect measure, it indicates that poorer testators tended to nominate only their wives as executors. Gilbert Aghton was the exception to proving the rule: he was the only testator who made a tithes and oblations payment of 20s or more who nominated his widow as sole executrix. The implication is that, in all cases one's spouse was a default choice to be executor, and where an estate was of higher value, they would have been assisted (or directed) by co-executors (and/or overseers).

⁵ PROB 11/7 Logge 23.

⁶ Gilbert Aghton (Stockfishmonger †1406) nominated his wife Mazera as sole executor to his Consistory Court will in which he left 40s in tithes and oblations to St Magnus the Martyr, GL MS9051/1(108).

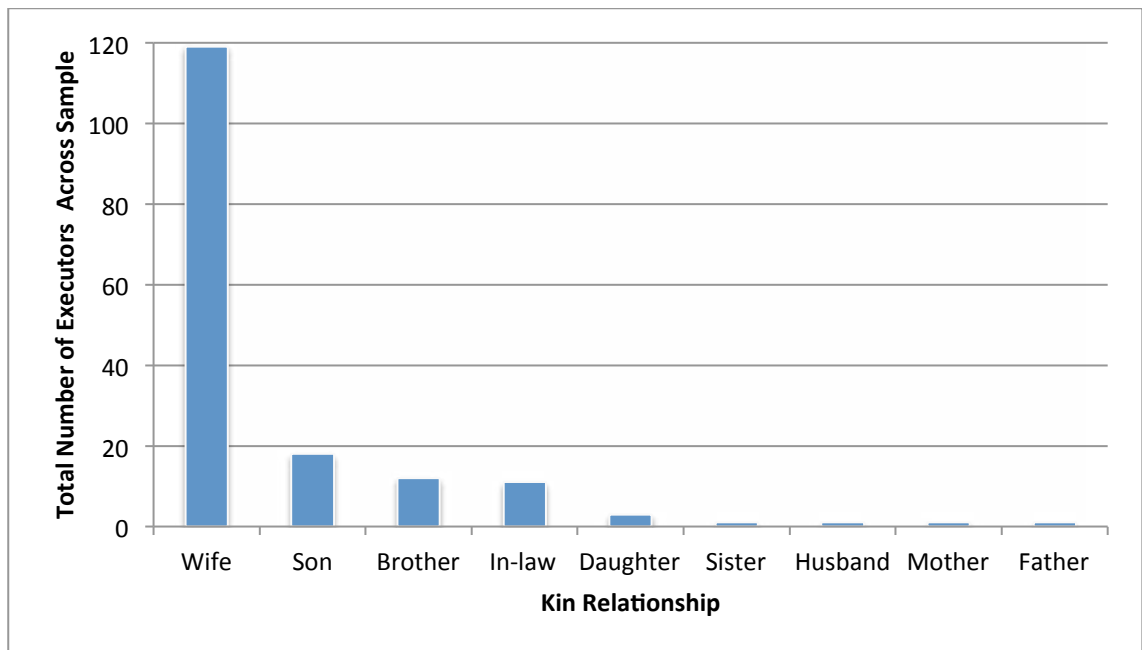


Figure 8.3 – Numbers of family members as executors to sampled wills (n=167).

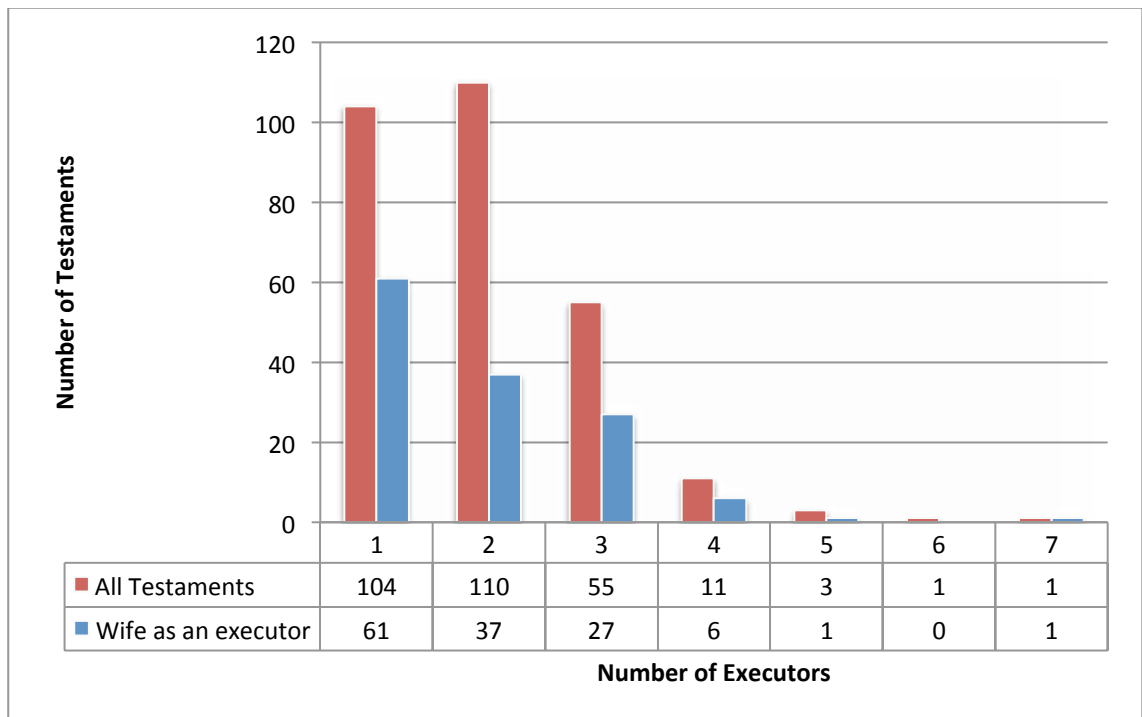


Figure 8.4 – Comparison of numbers of executors amongst all wills (n=285), and in the cases where one executor was the testator’s wife [all sampled wills].

In the majority of cases, however, executors had no explicit relationship with the testator. The category ‘Others’ in Figure 8.2 includes one case of a former apprentice serving as executor to his master, and three of ‘servants’ doing the same. Robert Mylne (Fishmonger †1496) nominated his master William Younger as sole executor and his sole beneficiary; yet William was also his cousin.⁷

⁷ John Knotte (tailor †1448) nominated former apprentice Richard Wysebeth as co-executor along with William Chattok and Thomas Davy, ComReg 4 f.277; Nicholas Aghton (Stockfishmonger, †1418) nominated his two servants Robert Hurlebat and Robert Page as co-executors along with William

In the vast majority of cases, however, no relationship was expressed or implied. The large number of apparently unrelated executors can only be interpreted as evidence of other forms of social contact, such as business relationships, or friendship. As demonstrated, the number of these supplementary, non-related, executors increased with the apparent wealth of the testator. Thus while the appointment of executors provides some evidence of social networks, it is biased against those of more limited means.



The role of supervisor, or overseer, was somewhat less onerous than that of executor. His (or her) duty was primarily as auditor, or executor of last resort.⁸ The selection of supervisors followed a similar pattern to executors, with 129 appointments being divided between 100 testaments, giving an average of 1.3 supervisors for each will that had a supervisor. Only two testaments had as many as four overseers, and only twenty-four had two, leaving a clear majority of 81 testaments which contained a reference to a single overseer or supervisor.

While executors handled the day-to-day business of distributing an estate, selling goods, and commissioning acts of charity, the supervisor's responsibility was simply to check that this was being carried out correctly and possibly to intervene in case of problems or disputes. Therefore it appears to have been common to appoint someone of high status and moral probity, who had pragmatic authority to overrule the executors if need be. For this reason, supervisors were generally paid more than executors appointed to the same will. Where details are given, the minimum payment was 3s 4d, but the majority of supervisors were paid at least 20s. The spectacularly wealthy Stockfishmonger, William Brampton (†1406), paid Thomas Overton, his rector at St Magnus the Martyr, 20 marks to serve as his supervisor.⁹

Patterns among those appointed as supervisors of wills were distinct from those amongst executors. Relatives were almost never selected as supervisors – all but thirteen supervisors in this sample had no explicit relationship with the testator. The most frequent relationship (where one was specified) was son, but at only four of 137, this is insignificant. The only other family relationships expressed

Cauntbrigg, alderman, and John Walpool, draper, ComReg 2 f.312; John Blofield (Stockfishmonger †1416) nominated his servant John Trusbut as executor along with Thomas Badby, ComReg 2 f.354v; Robert Mylne: ComReg 8 f107v.

⁸ Amongst 129 overseers in the sample, two were women: Agnes Quant served as overseer to the will of Isabell Freecok, widow, in 1479 [ComReg 6 f.291] and Agnes Bretayn to Sir John Philip, Priest, in 1491 [ComReg 8 f.24].

⁹ PROB 11/2 Marche 12.

in this context were brother and cousin, along with brother in-law, each with two cases. There were two cases of apprentices as supervisors, and one case where Walter Shipton (Draper †1417) nominated John Brandon (Draper), describing him as *nuper socio meo*.¹⁰ In the vast majority of cases, with no expressed relationship, the supervisor is usually described by occupation or status. Given the gravity of the role of supervisor, it can only be assumed that these individuals were either professionals, or intimate acquaintances, colleagues or friends.

Table 8.2 – Relationships between testators and supervisors [all sampled wills].

Supervisor's Relationship to Testator	Number
Unspecified	116
Son	4
Apprentice	2
In-law	2
Cousin	2
Brother	2
Friend\Associate	1

Figure 8.5 illustrates that supervisors were markedly more common in wills with only one executor. Amongst 129 testator-supervisor relationships, seventy-eight belong to wills with only one executor, and of these, in fifty-eight the testator's widow was sole executrix. The remainder of supervisors were appointed to wills dealing with an extensive estate. Furthermore, the number of supervisors appointed was proportional to the supervision perceived to be required: more were appointed for wills dealing with the largest estates, or where a sole executrix was responsible for a moderately large estate.

¹⁰ ComReg 2 f.363v.

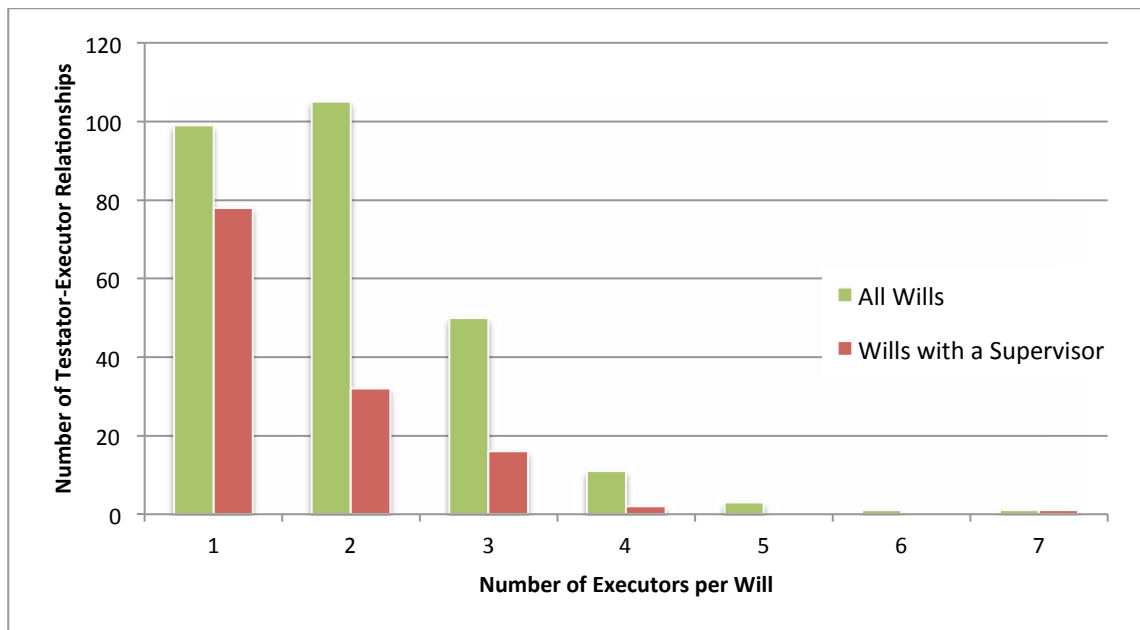


Figure 8.5 – Numbers of executors per will: comparison of all sampled wills, and wills with at least some supervisor (n=270).

The occupations of supervisors follow a different pattern to those of executors. Clergy were most commonly appointed, with twenty-three supervisors, including four rectors and four Doctors of Theology (at least one of whom was a London parson).¹¹ Otherwise, the distribution of supervisors reflected other social spheres of the neighbourhood: the most common were Fishmongers, followed by Stockfishmongers, Tailors, Grocers and Bowyers. Three individuals were described only as Alderman (although others identified by trade were, or would become, aldermen). One Notary Public and one Scrivener also appear as supervisors. This distribution of occupations clearly suggests that testators thought it wise to approach men of relatively high social or moral status to be their executors. Naturally, this also reflects the fact that only those of a relatively high status and with a larger estate tended to appoint a supervisor at all. Just as those with only a small estate tended to nominate only a single executor, supervisors were a feature of high value wills. Only a limited number of wills that contained reference to a supervisor possessed only a single executor, and in those cases the executor was almost always the testator's wife. Notably, several wills with a widow as sole executrix nominated multiple supervisors, for example Hugh Saunderson (Bowler †1500) made his wife Alice his executor, but named Simon Rowyngton (Cutler) and Robert Cockwoody (Bowler) her supervisors.¹²

¹¹ John Bretyn, supervisor to the will of Johanne Payne-Childe-Kerville (†1487) was parson of St Peter Cornhill: PROB 11/7 Wattys 11. The supervisors appointed to the wills of clergy followed no particular pattern concerning lay or clerical occupation.

¹² ComReg 8 f217v.

The lack of explicit relationships between testators and supervisors, and the high status of nominees, can be interpreted as indicating that the relationships behind them were evidence of social networks. While many clergy were chosen, it would appear that personal networks, rather than ecclesiastical positions, governed this. The example of Hugh Saunderson is typical: he chose supervisors who practiced the same, and a related trade. Likewise, Fishmongers tended to nominate other Fishmongers or Stockfishmongers, and, for example, Tailors nominated other Tailors, Brewers and members of other trades of similar rank. For example, Richard Whaplode (Fishmonger †1480) nominated his son Thomas, and Robert Swayn, Fishmonger, and William Garolde, Stockfishmonger, as his supervisors, while Roger Worth (Glover †1485) selected John Gardynner, Tailor, and Richard Walsthe, Tallow Chandler.¹³ Status and positions of trust were clearly important, but so was a personal knowledge of the individual and personal trust.

Locating Executors

The most reliable method of establishing residency is from burial location, or payment of tithes in a will. Therefore the likelihood of identifying the residency of individuals not affiliated to a sampled parish, or of anyone who did not make a will, are very low. However, examination of the relationships between parish residency and testators' choices of executors and supervisors shows some clear correlations. Taking, for example, the period 1400-1420, a rudimentary plot of the digraphs depicting the relationships shows clear clustering between fellow parishioners in their testator-executor relationships (Figure 8.6). Many of the networks are composed entirely of testators and executors from only within a single parish: all five of Maud Chambre's executors and supervisors were fellow residents of St Mary at Hill, for example. However, nearly a third of the executors and supervisors included within this sub-sample cannot be identified by parish of residence, and could either have been fellow residents, or indeed could have come from anywhere in the city. Nonetheless, the number of relationships of testator-executor (or supervisor) between residents of the sampled parishes is extremely limited (Figure 8.7). Grouping the parties by parish of residence (in circles) reveals that the vast majority of testators had at least one executor or supervisor from their own parish, shown by both radial and transverse connections. The number of relationships between the parishioners of each of the four parishes is, while somewhat proportional to parish size, extremely limited.

¹³ ComReg 6 f.308v, ComReg 7 f.12.

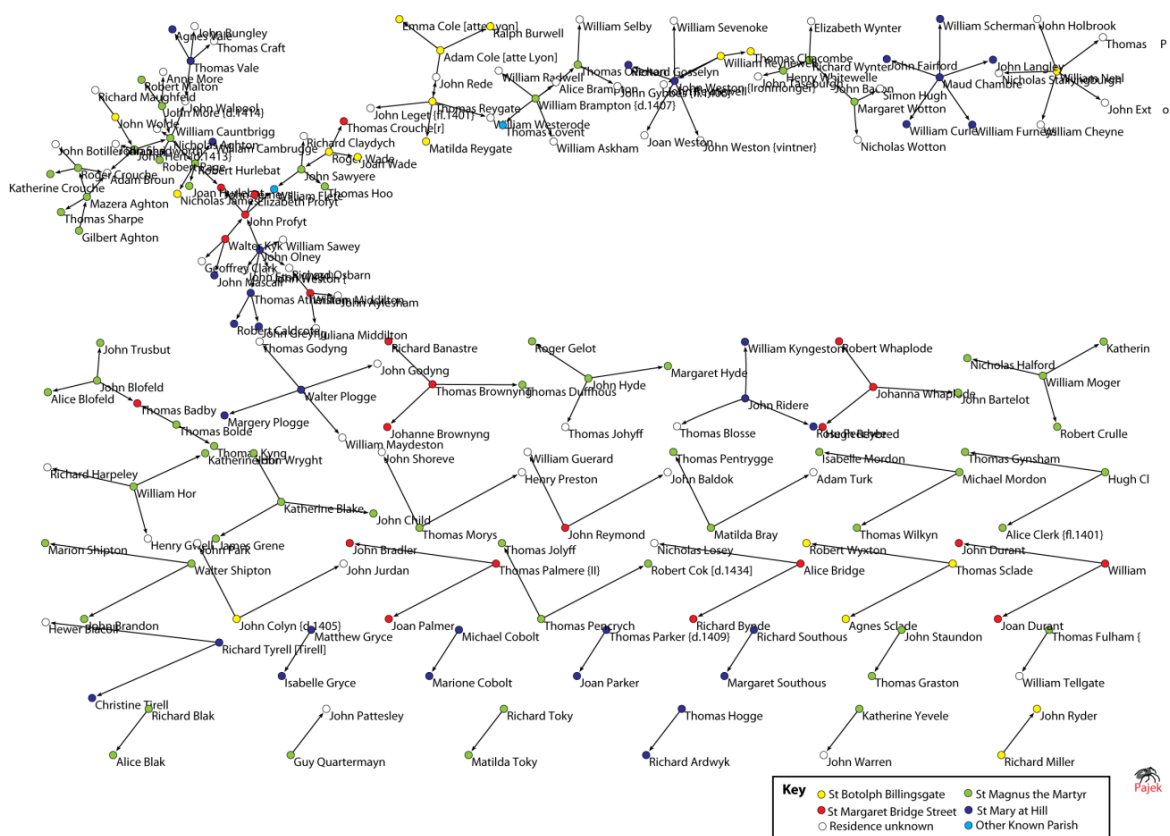


Figure 8.6 – Social network plot of testator-executor-supervisor relationships (arcs) [1400-1420] indicating parochial residency. Note the contrast between the dense connected networks, and isolated digraphs.

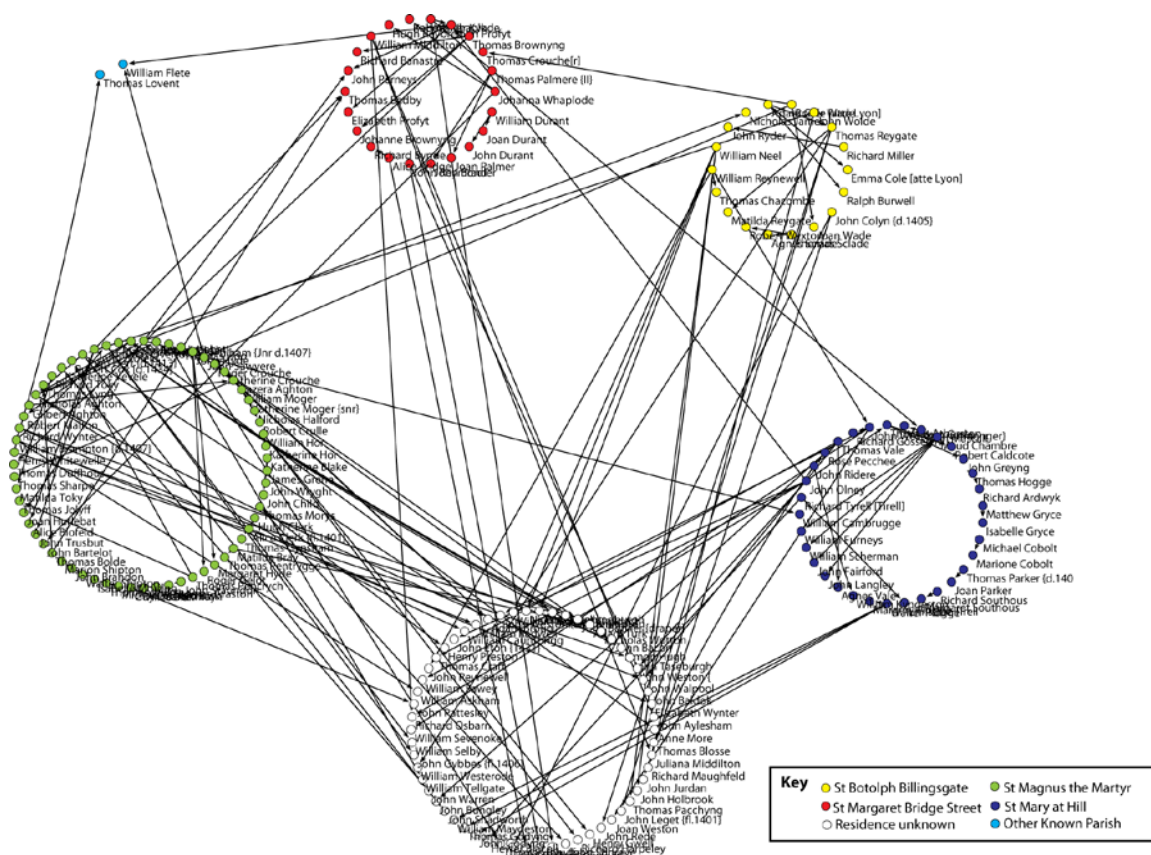


Figure 8.7 – Circular social network plot of testator-executor-supervisor relationships (arcs) [1400-1420] grouped by parish of residence.

Table 8.3 summarises the testator-executor relationships initiated by parishioners as testators in each of the parishes and sample periods. The vast majority of relationships, in all sections of the sample, were either between fellow parishioners, or with those of unknown residence. The large number of individuals of unknown residency might indicate that these were people from outside of the neighbourhood altogether, although the number of executors known to be resident in other parishes is extremely limited. Furthermore, at least some of those unidentified were inevitably residents of the sample parishes who are otherwise unrecorded. The number of fellow parishioners chosen as executors and supervisors of wills is therefore certainly an underestimate.

Table 8.3 – Matrices of Testator-Executor\Supervisor relationships by parish and sample period.

Executors' Parish	Testators' Parish			
1400 - 1420	St Botolph Billingsgate	St Magnus The Martyr	St Margaret Bridge Street	St Mary at Hill
St Botolph Billingsgate	9	1	0	0
St Magnus The Martyr	2	40	2	0
St Margaret Bridge St.	1	3	13	1
St Mary at Hill	1	1	1	20
Other	0	3	1	0
Unknown	12	35	7	16
1440-1460	St Botolph Billingsgate	St Magnus The Martyr	St Margaret Bridge Street	St Mary at Hill
St Botolph Billingsgate	14	0	0	0
St Magnus The Martyr	1	46	0	2
St Margaret Bridge St.	1	0	16	0
St Mary at Hill	0	2	0	42
Other	0	0	1	0
Unknown	18	32	14	18
1480-1500	St Botolph Billingsgate	St Magnus The Martyr	St Margaret Bridge Street	St Mary at Hill
St Botolph Billingsgate	20	0	0	0
St Magnus The Martyr	1	53	2	1
St Margaret Bridge St.	0	2	29	0
St Mary at Hill	0	1	0	31
Other	1	1	0	0
Unknown	22	57	32	23

The proportion of executors and supervisors positively identified as living in the same parish as the testator is generally around 45%, and consistently in the range 35-60%. This demonstrates a significant correlation and a definite preponderance to nominate co-parishioners to these roles. Seen in terms of a condensed social-network diagram (Figure 8.8) the 1400-1420 sample depicts relative insularity amongst parishioners. While relationship arcs exist between all of the parishes within the sample, they pale into insignificance compared to the testator-executor relationships between fellow parishioners, depicted as 'looped' arcs (where the arrow's origin and destination are the same). Furthermore, while many parishes were linked in both directions by arcs of executor nomination, this is not always the case.

Most significantly, it is clear that no direct geographical influence was at play between parishioners of neighbouring parishes. St Botolph Billingsgate's residents had a similarly weak relationship with their direct neighbours in St Mary at Hill as with the non-contiguous parish of St Margaret. Executors who were residents of other parishes did not display any geographical relationship. While residents of St Dunstan in the East might be expected to be found as executors in neighbouring St Mary at Hill, in fact they only emerged as executors to parishioners of St Margaret Bridge Street and St Magnus the Martyr, rather than St Mary or St Botolph which were in closer proximity.

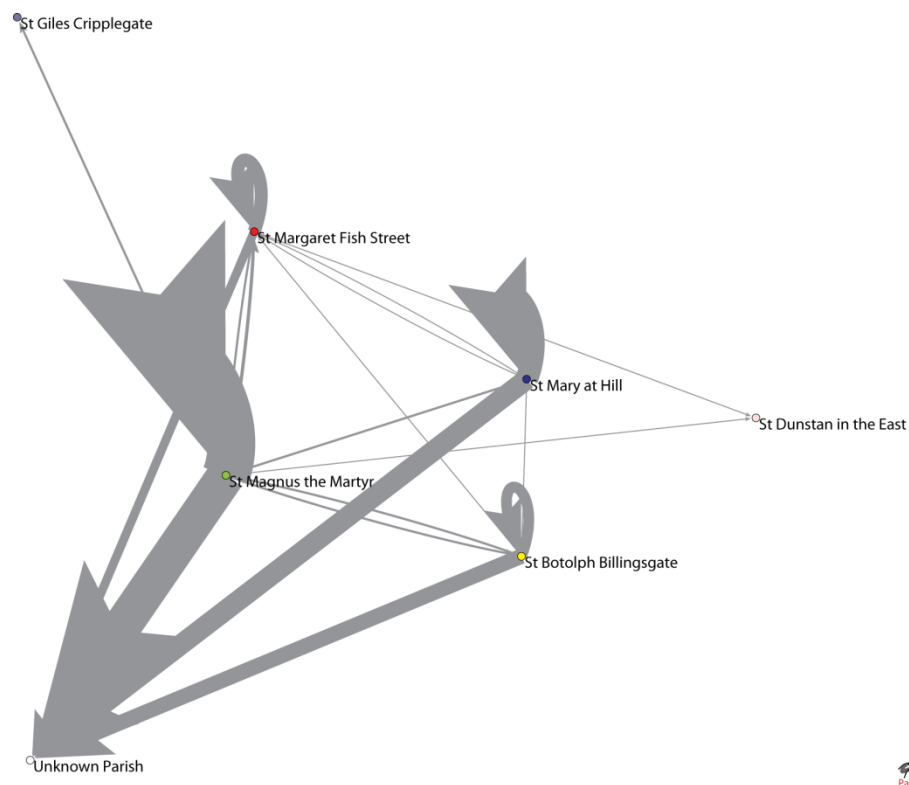


Figure 8.8 – Network plot showing aggregate testator-executor relations (arcs) between parishes in 1400-1420 sample. Looped arrows indicate relationships within a parish.

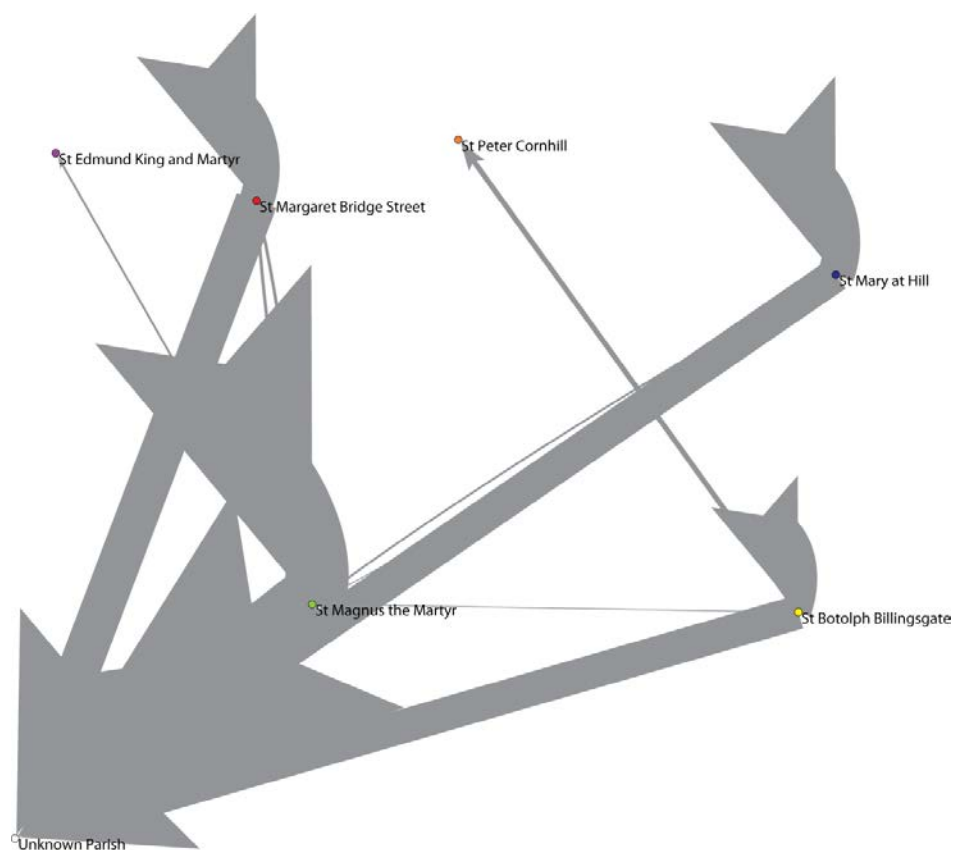


Figure 8.9 - Network plot showing aggregate testator-executor relations (arcs) between parishes [1480-1500]. Looped arrows indicate relationships within a parish.

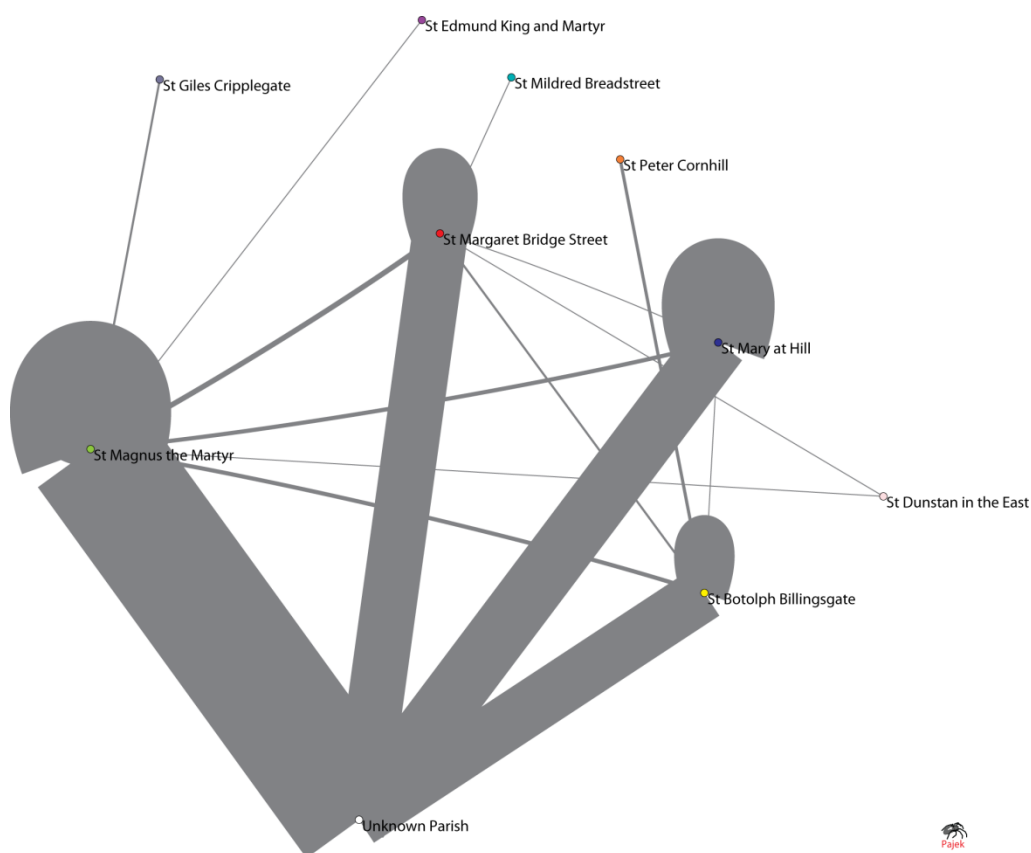


Figure 8.10 - Network plot showing aggregate testator-executor relations (edges) between residents of known parishes [all samples]. Loops indicate relationships within a parish.

The proportions of inter- and intra-parochial testator-executor relationships is shown in Table 8.3 to have been broadly similar throughout each of the three sample periods: combining these samples allows a more robust sample to be analysed. Figure 8.10 represents the cumulative relationships of the three periods, between only those individuals for whom parochial residency can be established, without distinction by ‘direction’ of the relationship. The removal of executors of unknown residency serves to emphasize the *relative* patterns between the parishes, but of course cannot represent the whole picture. In all cases, the relationships portrayed between the parishes are less significant than those within each parish, usually by an order of magnitude. The inter-parish relationships between the sample parishes are little stronger than those with parishes outside of sample, despite the fact that the chances of identifying the parochial residency of individuals living in sampled parishes is much higher than for those resident elsewhere. Executors, therefore, were most likely to live in the same parish as the testator by a clear degree – if they lived elsewhere, this was no more likely to be in a neighbouring parish than one some distance away. This suggests that, even were it possible to identify the parish of more of the individuals of ‘unknown’ residency, it would not greatly change the picture, as the number of executors from outside of the ‘home parish’ was small in relative terms, even when the other sampled parishes are considered, and there is a good chance of identifying their residency.

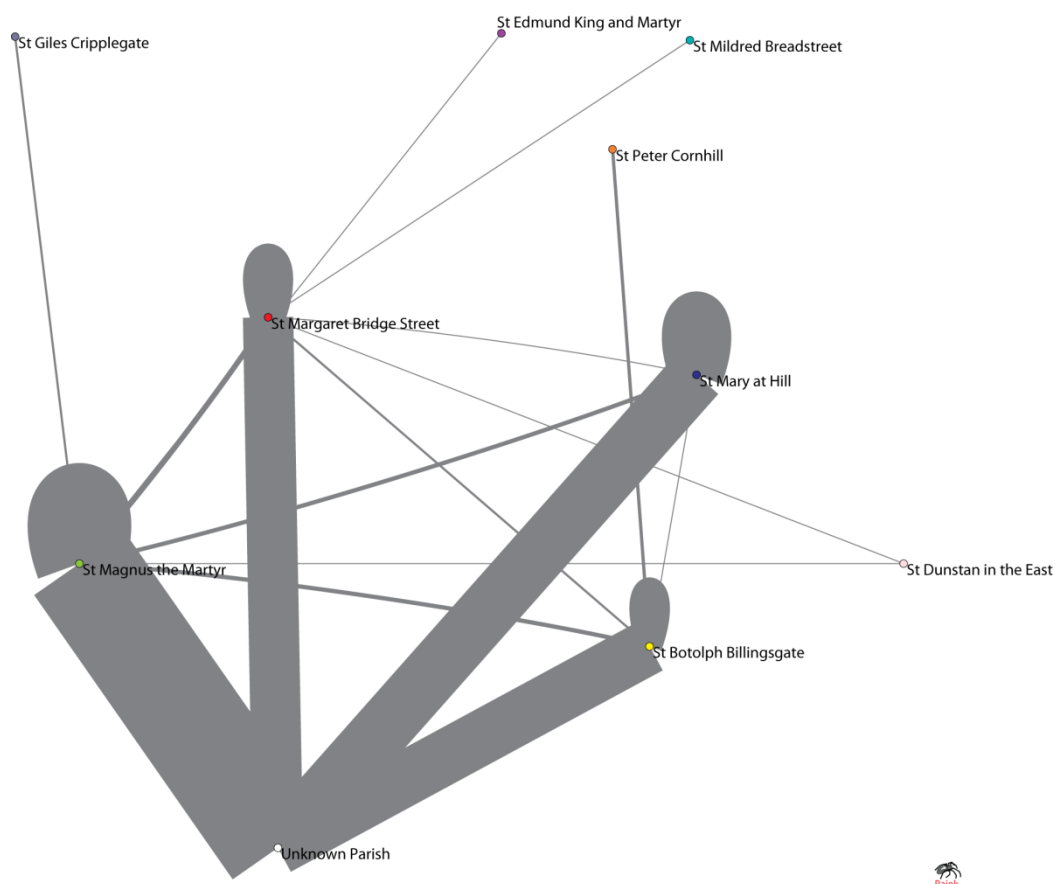


Figure 8.11 - Network plot showing aggregate testator-executor relations (edges) between residents of known parishes across all sample, **excluding** relationships between kin. Loops indicate relationships within a parish.

The choice of executor or supervisor to a will clearly had a distinct local bias. Overall, where it is possible to identify the parochial residency of the executors or supervisors to a will, the chances are that they were fellow parishioners. In part, this can be accounted for by the preponderance of close kin as executors: if nearly a third of executors were immediate kin, and the majority of these the testator's widows, this would account for around a quarter of executors being fellow parishioners by default. Nonetheless, 50% of executors and supervisors were fellow parishioners, and the pattern is the same regardless of whether executors who were kin are included or excluded (Figure 8.11). Considering that kin were very rarely chosen as supervisors, it appears that this was a definite trend. Perhaps surprising, in this context, is the lack of geographical basis to those testator-executor/supervisor relationships that did span parochial boundaries. If a testator chose an executor or supervisor from another parish, they were no more likely to come from a neighbouring parish than from anywhere else in the city. Those parishes outside of the sample that were home to executors were not even contiguous to the parish in question. This suggests the notion that the reason for choice of fellow parishioners was not one of geographical proximity or 'neighbourliness', but rather in other personal relationships: perhaps the parish institution, or more likely, as explored below, through commerce and guild contacts.

Trades of Executors

The preponderance to select fellow members of trades and executors and supervisors is clear: the most common group of executors and supervisors amongst testators of any one trade is usually the same occupation as that of the testator. Otherwise, widows were popular choices, and a significant number of individuals nominated as executors or supervisors cannot be identified by occupation (as many, if not the same individuals, cannot be identified by parish). Table 8.4 summarises choices made by testators from selected local trades across all sample periods. The Fishmongers and Stockfishmongers, both of which provide a large sample, reveal an unambiguous preference for fellow guildsmen. Fishmongers, for example, chose fellow Fishmongers for these positions many times more frequently than men of any other trade, even those whose occupation cannot be identified. No other occupational groups offer such large samples, yet similar trends can be observed amongst the Grocers, who chose fellow Grocers nearly as frequently as widows or members of minor trades. The related trades of the Bowyers, Fletchers and Cutlers (here grouped as Weapon trades) exhibit a similar trend, while only the Haberdashers do not exhibit any clear pattern in their choices.

Table 8.4 – Matrix of executors and supervisors nominated by members of select occupations, sorted by occupation, across all samples and parishes. **Bold** figures indicate most common category in column.¹⁴

	Testators					
	Fishmongers	Stockfishmongers	Grocers	Haberdashers	Weapons	
Nominated Executors/Supervisor	Fishmongers	32	6	3		
	Stockfishmongers	4	20		2	
	Grocers	2	1	9	1	
	Haberdashers	1			1	2
	Weapons	1	1	1		8
	Vintners	1	1			
	Ironmongers		2		1	1
	Cloth Trades		1			
	Mercers			1	2	1
	Brewers\Hospitality			1	1	1
	Uncommon Trades	3	4	13	4	1
	Widows	15	13	11	7	10
	Clergy	5	5	4	2	1
	Unknown	8	12	8	5	5

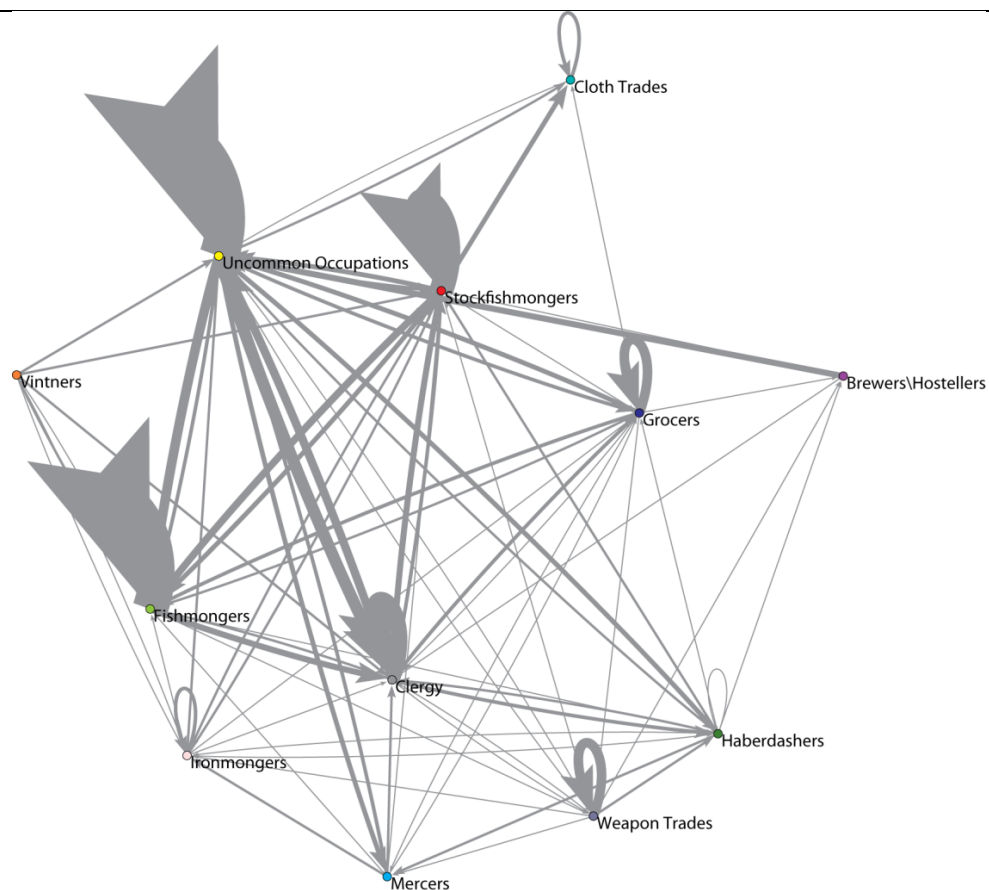


Figure 8.12 - Network plot showing aggregate testator-executor relations (arcs) between identifiable male occupations across all will samples. Looped arrows indicate relationships within an occupation, arrow sizes proportional to number of relationships.

¹⁴ 'Uncommon Trades' refers to occupations that are identified but not common within the sample, e.g. Goldsmiths or Chandlers.

Figure 8.12 depicts nomination of executors and supervisors by occupation across all the samples as arcs. This emphasizes the preponderance for relationships within craft groups, and also exposes a core-periphery relationship between the occupations. While it remains clear that Fishmongers most frequently appointed fellow Fishmongers as their executors or supervisors, their other choices would most likely have belonged to the other 'core' occupations such as Stockfishmongers, the clergy, or Grocers. The choices of the Ironmongers, Mercers, Haberdashers and weapon trades, which form the periphery, suggest that their relationships amongst each other are generally stronger than with the 'core' (excepting the clergy), confirming that this is not a mere product of numerical odds amongst the numerous 'core' occupations.

As was the case of executor and supervisor choice in terms of residency, all sample periods display very similar patterns, so aggregated data can be used to emphasize the density of relationships. Examining individual periods can present, however, a clearer and less dense picture of relationships between the trades. Figure 8.13 depicts the choices of executors and supervisors by testators in 1400-1420. The preference for selection of fellow guildsmen is clear, as is the distinction between the dense 'core' of relationships between Fishmongers, Stockfishmongers and the clergy, and the frequent lateral relationships amongst the 'peripheral' trades of Ironmongers, Mercers and Grocers. This also reveals that, for example, the Cloth Trades (including Drapers) are only linked with the Stockfishmongers, hinting at their likely commercial partnerships during the earlier fifteenth century. It is also notable from the direction of the arcs that the clergy are appointed as executors very frequently by most other occupational groups, but very rarely nominate anyone other than fellow-clergy as their own executors (see Chapter 7). Conversely, Brewers and Hostellers do not appear to have been nominated as executors, which may be significant in light of discussion of their local social role, below.

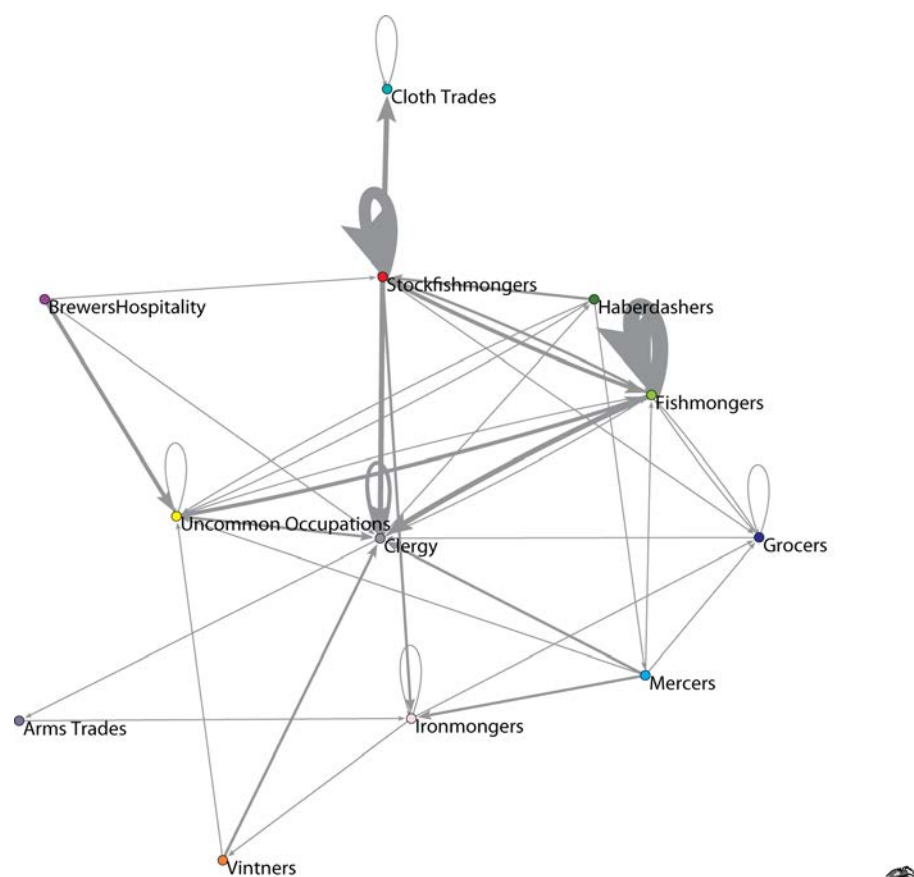


Figure 8.13 – Network plot showing aggregate testator-executor relations (arcs) between identifiable male occupations in 1400-1420 sample. Looped arrows indicate relationships within an occupation.

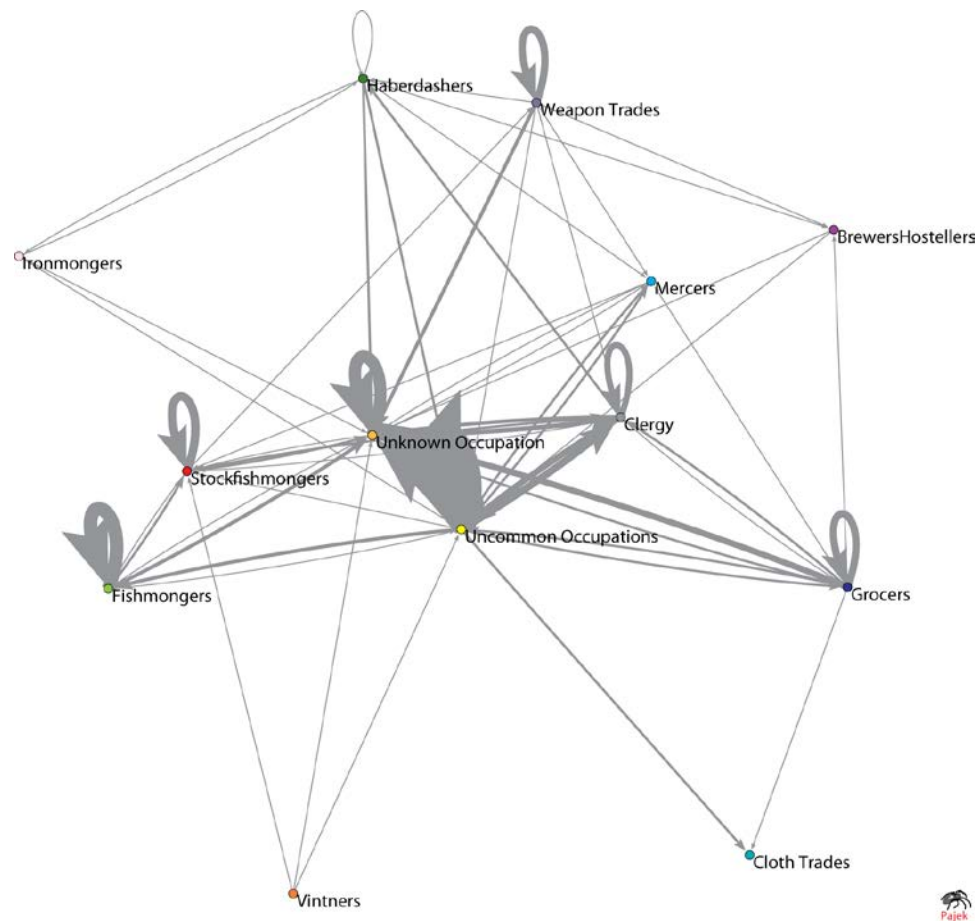


Figure 8.14 - Network plot showing aggregate testator-executor relations (arcs) between identifiable male occupations in 1480-1500 sample. Loops indicate relationships within an occupation.

Similar trends are observable in the data from 1480-1500, but with notable differences (Figure 8.14). The same core of Fishmongers, Stockfishmongers, Clergy and minor trades is present, perhaps with a closer involvement of the Grocers. In line with other analyses throughout the thesis, however, the number of these ‘other’ trades has increased considerably. The distinction between core and periphery is much less distinct. The members of the various occupations were less introverted in their choice of executors and supervisors to their wills. This is consistent with the general dilution of occupational clustering already seen in terms of testators’ residency, and property ownership.

The patterns of choice of executors and supervisors emphasize that selection appears to have been based upon intimacy and personal knowledge, most likely to have come about through daily interaction. The distribution of executor choices in terms of parish of residency presents a very similar picture in the 1480-1500 sample to that in 1400-1420, with a very large number of such relationships within each parish, relative to an even smaller number of inter-parish relationships. By contrast, occupational analysis of testator-executor relationships in the period 1480-1500 reveals that links within an occupation are less common, while general patterns remains constant, relative to the shifts in occupational residency noted in Chapter 5. It seems clear therefore, that the

apparent parochial bias in choice of executor is part of a wider pattern encompassing preference to choose executors of the same occupation. This can only be a reflection of the fact that these two factors were largely coordinate. The tendency of those of the same, or a related, trade to live in similar locations also meant that they tended to interact and form the strong social bonds that can be associated with choice of executor on the same basis – this is *homophily* – ‘Birds of a feather flock together’.¹⁵

¹⁵ Miller McPherson, Lynn Smith-Lovin, and James M. Cook, “Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 27 (2001): 415-444.

8.2 Witnessing as Sociability

Acting as a witness seems to have been a casual, and normal, part of daily activity, and was one of the duties of neighbourliness. In this way, the memory of transactions was woven into the fabric of the community, as much as they were written into diaries or private account books.¹⁶

Witnessing was an extremely important function in medieval society: it was the primary method of verifying documents. Witnesses served as an oral record of a transaction, and their (collective) memory was an additional confirmation of the veracity of a document or transaction. The practice of witnessing a transaction, especially assembling large numbers of witnesses, could be said to hark-back to pre-literate traditions and methods of ensuring legitimacy. Even when a written record was produced there was still potential for alteration and fraud. In such a circumstance witnesses could be called upon to testify to the veracity, or otherwise, of the document. Muldrew argued that early-modern diary evidence suggests that the vast majority of witnesses to business and private transactions were 'friends and neighbours': diarists often recorded witnessing transactions for others in a reciprocal manner. He suggests that this was part and parcel of neighbourliness. There is no reason to suppose that this was any less the case in fifteenth-century London than during the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. This section investigates patterns amongst witnesses to deeds and wills, and reveals that while reciprocation in witnessing does appear to have been in evidence, this was seldom in a direct form, and was conspicuously absent from the witnessing of wills.

Witnessing of Wills

The presence of two witnesses was a canonical requirement for wills from early in the medieval period, yet this was a requirement for the presence of two individuals able to swear to the authenticity of a will rather than a requirement that their identities were recorded with the written will. However, Sheehan argued that the older notion that the legal act of donation was a public event, rather than an act committed to paper alone, remained strong – emphasizing the role of witnesses to the event of its composition, relative to other verifications, such as seals – and encouraging their presence in greater numbers. This impulse promoted the recording of their role, and the characteristic terminating clause *et multis aliis*.¹⁷ While all wills were witnessed in some form or another, recording of the names of the witnesses was less common, especially in enrolled copies of wills in court books and rolls. Nonetheless, 185 instances of individuals acting as witness to the wills of 289 testators are recorded in the sampled data. While this represents a crude average of 0.5 witnesses per will, those wills which do carry a record of their witnessing generally detail at

¹⁶ Craig Muldrew, "The Culture of Reconciliation: Community and the Settlement of Economic Disputes in Early Modern England," *Historical Journal* 39 (1996): 926-7.

¹⁷ Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England*, 178.

least two witnesses, while others have no witnessing data at all. In fact 185 individuals were witnesses to only 68 wills, giving an average of 2.8 witnesses to each of these wills. Figure 8.15 shows the numbers of witnesses recorded against each of the wills for which at least one exists.

Overall numbers of witnesses are low, but where the details of the witnesses have survived, the vast majority of wills had at least two witnesses, and it was common to have more: three witnesses were just as common as two. Wills for which only one witness is recorded undoubtedly originally had two – this can generally be explained by illegibility or poor preservation of the document. There is a chance that scribes truncated longer lists of witnesses, in excess of two or three, during enrolment, but there is no way of establishing how common this may have been.

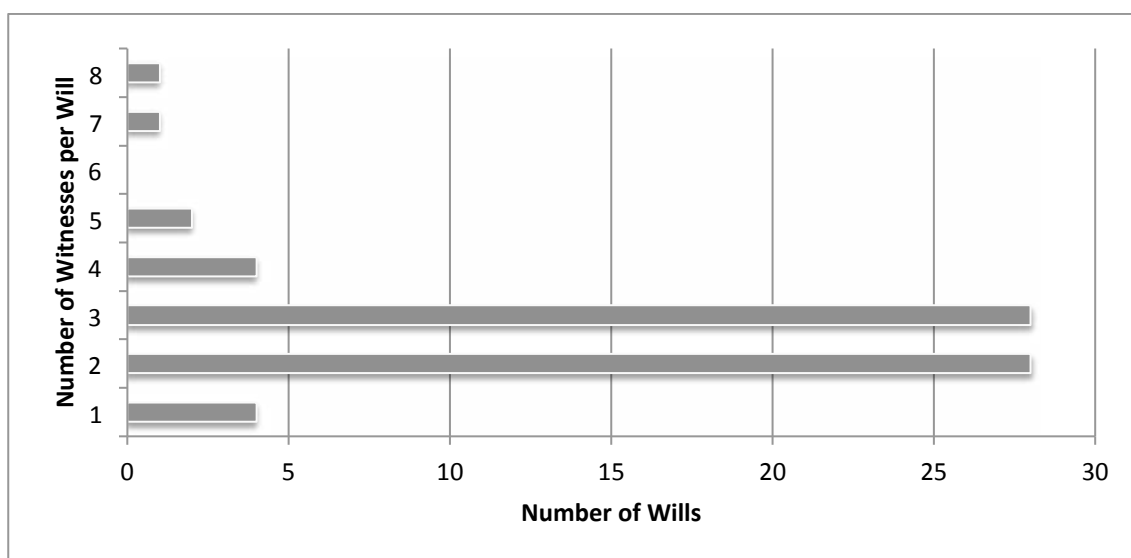


Figure 8.15 – Numbers of witnesses to wills with at least one witness, across all sample periods and parishes.

Unlike executors or supervisors, witnesses to wills were rarely members of the testator's family. Witnesses with such a vested interest would be less than ideal in proving the veracity of a document should it have been disputed, and would have had little to offer in terms of establishing the *public* legitimacy of the will. Figure 8.16 depicts the occupations of recorded witnesses to wills in the samples, illustrating similar general patterns to those found amongst executors and supervisors. While those of unknown occupation is high, as only names were given in most witness lists, by far the most common occupations were clergy, representing over 30% of all witnesses. Amongst these, those referred to simply as 'priest' are most common, followed closely by chaplains, while rectors and parsons are notably absent. Scribes, scriveners and notaries, together comprise more than 10% of witnesses. Remaining witnesses follow the established local pattern of trades in predictable proportions, although all numbers are low in comparison with the previous two categories. Notable, however, are two Barbers, a profession otherwise absent from the neighbourhood record.

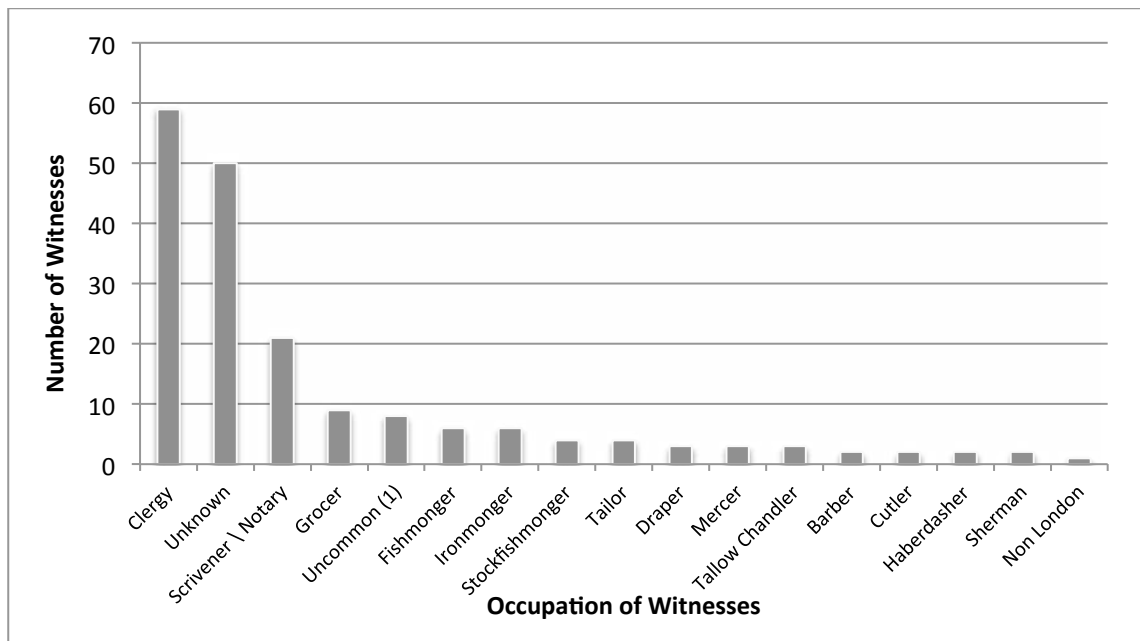


Figure 8.16 – Occupations of recorded witnesses to wills, across all sample periods and parishes (n=285).

Occupations found amongst witness lists reflect the specific circumstances of the composition of wills. The high proportion of clergy could be reflective of two concerns: literacy, and impending death. Chapter 7 reflected on the role of the clergy in the life of the neighbourhood: the social hierarchy of the neighbourhood was replicated in the ranks of the clergy with which they consorted, explaining the lack of rectors and higher clergy. Chaplains and parish clerks might have provided access to literacy for the illiterate lower ranks of the population. The high numbers of scriveners likewise suggests that they were responsible for assisting with the composition of the will. Moreover, it was expected that clergy would be summoned to the bedside of the dying to offer the last rites as part of a ‘good death’.¹⁸

Amongst 289 sampled wills, 178 were granted probate within the same calendar year that they were sealed, while another fifty proven in the following year. This leaves only 61 wills that were clearly written well in advance of any sense of impending death. This is not to say that all wills composed within the year of death were ‘deathbed wills’, composed with urgency, but it can be assumed that a significant proportion of them were. Of the twenty-one occasions of scriveners witnessing wills, thirteen occurred in wills where the date of the will and its probate fell within the same year, and a further three amongst those proven within the following year. Similarly, of fifty-nine instances of clergy witnessing wills, forty-four were wills proven in the same year as composition, and of the two occasions of barbers serving as witness, one was less than two years before the date of probate, and the other within days. Elizabeth Swayne (née Whaplode) of St Margaret Bridge Street had recently buried her husband Robert (Fishmonger) when, on the 15th September 1491 she wrote her will, leaving modest gifts to the parish poor and her fraternity of St Christopher, and dividing her estate

¹⁸ Caxton, *The Arte [and] Crafte to Knowe Well to Dye*.

in three equal parts between her three children, Richard, Laurence and Margaret. Richard, the eldest son, served as executor, and fellow parishioner William Garolde, Stockfishmonger, was his supervisor. Only fifteen days later, on the 30th September, Richard obtained probate from the Commissary Court. It is therefore clear why the two witnesses to her will were Henry Curle, the parish priest of St Margaret's, and James Juggleby, a barber. The cleric and the barber-surgeon were tending her in her dying days, and the former most probably assisted her in her final task of composing her will. Numerous similar examples, such as John Wyscard of St Magnus the Martyr, repeat this familiar pattern: in his case Richard Wynge, a chaplain of St Magnus's and Walter Culpitte, prolific local scrivener, witnessed his will, proven just twenty days after its composition on 24 June 1442.¹⁹

Nuncupative wills (dictated from the deathbed), occur relatively infrequently within the sampled periods and parishes, most of which are found amongst the records of the Commissary Court. Amongst them were Richard Blak, 'tabylmaker' of St Magnus (†1414), who simply awarded administration of his goods to his wife Alice and Guy Quatermayn, Goldsmith of the same parish, (who died in the same year himself).²⁰ The witnesses and executors to these wills typically follow the same general trends, although they serve to highlight those physically around the individual at time of death. William Martyn, chaplain of St Magnus (†1452), had three witnesses to his nuncupative will: John Riche, John Otteware, and William Rede, all fellow chaplains.²¹

The 'core' neighbourhood occupations: Fishmongers, Stockfishmongers, and Grocers, are of course very frequently found amongst witness lists. This could represent the planned gathering of friends and associates at the compilation of a will. Just as easily, given the correlation between residency and occupation that has emerged so strongly in this study, by virtue of numeric odds, they might have been simply those most conveniently available at the time: those drinking in the local tavern, or even hauled in off the street.

¹⁹ ComReg 8 f25v; ComReg 4 f87.

²⁰ ComReg 2 f280; 2 f280v.

²¹ ComReg 5 f66.

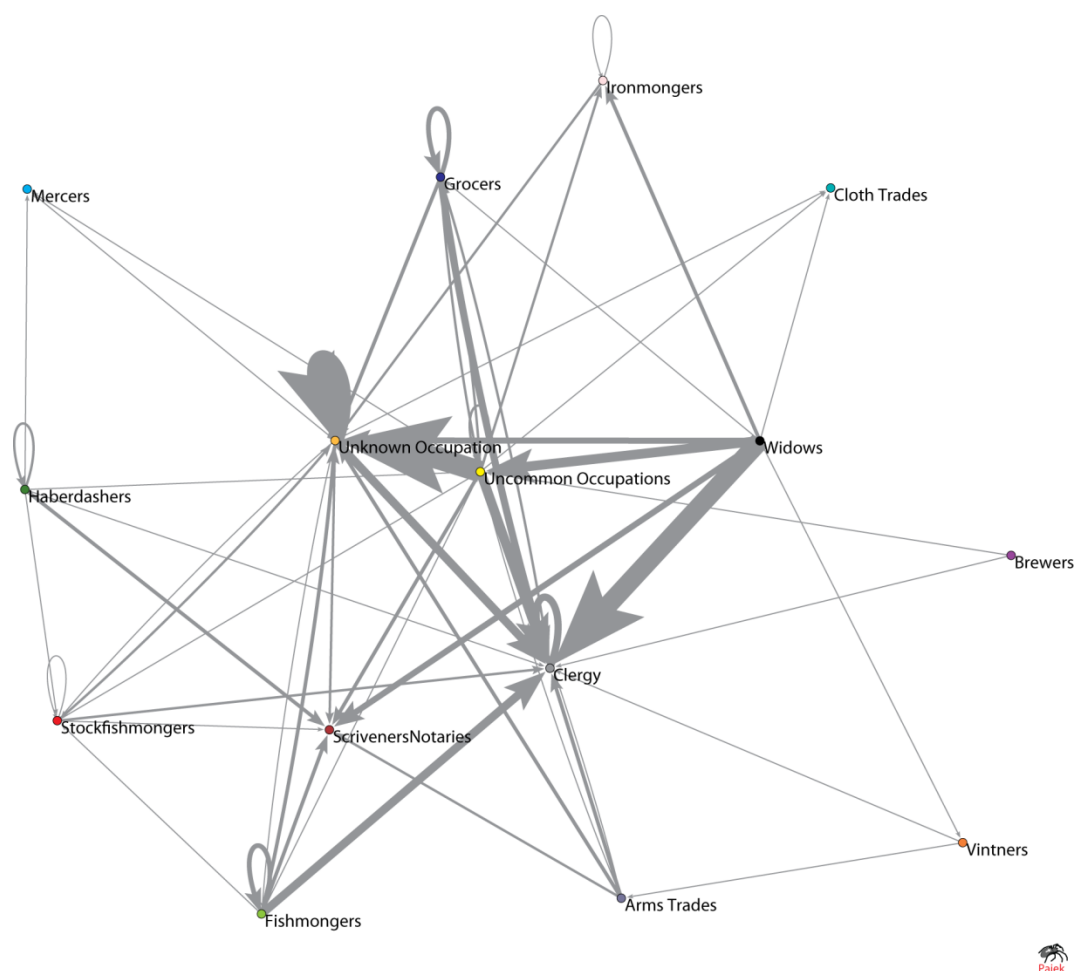


Figure 8.17 - Network plot showing aggregate testator-witness relations (arcs) between occupational identities across all will samples. Loops indicate relationships within an occupation.

Social Network Analysis of relationships between testators and witnesses emphasizes the lack of patterns in the choice of witness. Analysis by occupation (Figure 8.17) shows again a core and periphery arrangement, but in this case the only occupations in the core are the clergy, ‘unknown’ and ‘other’. In direct contrast to executor and supervisor choices, there is no discernable occupational homophily in witness choice: Fishmongers, for example, did not employ fellow Fishmongers as witnesses in significant numbers. Other testator-witness relationships were either apparently random, or with the clergy or scriveners. Women, not even widows, never acted as witnesses to any of the sampled wills. This may serve to highlight the legal rather than personal focus of witnessing.

Parochial distribution of witnesses, by contrast, shows a distinct lack of inter-parish testator-witness relationships (Figure 8.18). Almost all witnesses lived in the same parish as the testator, or cannot be located. The large numbers of witnesses unable to be identified through their own wills, or other sources, suggests either that they were of a social status unlikely to be will makers, or feature in property deeds themselves, or to have lived outside of the sample area. This latter reason may well apply to scriveners, and possibly friars, who could easily have served a large part of the city. Both of

these explanations are consistent with the necessity of procuring witnesses rapidly, perhaps on the deathbed.

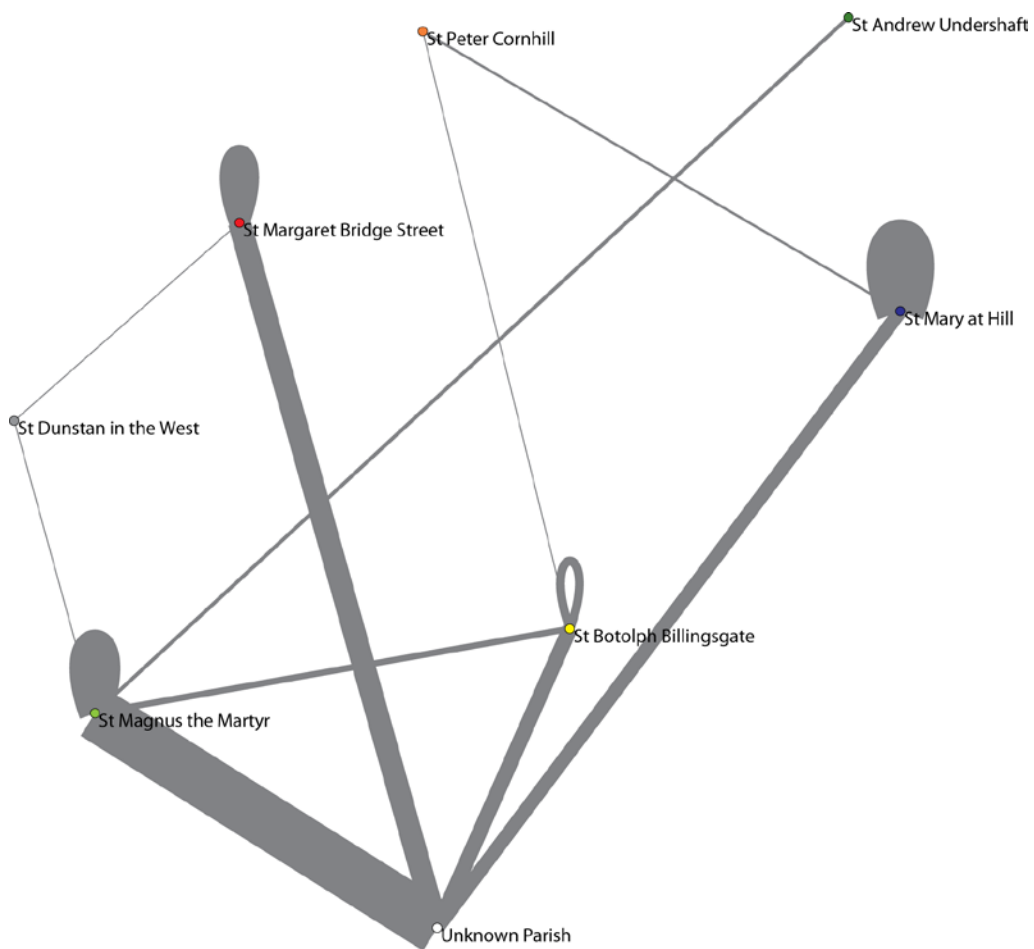


Figure 8.18 - Network plot showing aggregate testator-witness relations (edges) between parishioners across all will samples. Loops indicate relationships within a parish.

Witnessing of wills appears to have reflected the specific circumstances of its composition, more than any overriding personal considerations, or choice, on the part of the testator. Nonetheless, witnessing remains highly instructive as to the character of local sociability. That professionals, or apparent strangers, were evidently just as likely to witness to a will as were neighbours or fellow company members, despite the apparent fact that many wills were created upon the deathbed, in what can only have been a highly emotional circumstance, is highly revealing. Given the suggestion that witnesses were required to be disinterested parties, it appears that while care was taken to select appropriate and prominent friends and relatives as the officers of a person's will, it was certainly acceptable, if not desirable, to select witnesses much less formally.

Witnessing of Deeds

Deeds offer another large corpus of witness lists. As explored in Chapter 2, the purpose of a written deed, and especially so in the case of one enrolled into the rolls of the Court of Husting, was to establish the legitimacy of the transaction *publicly*. The importance of witnessing deeds was therefore self-evident. While the recording of witnesses is generally better for wills composed after c.1440, in the case of Husting deeds, it was at its best earlier than this, and then dropped away, making direct comparison problematic.

Table 8.5 – Numbers of deeds and witnesses to deeds in sample (1400-1500)

Sampled Deed Transactions	377
Witnessed Transactions	183
Total Number of Witnesses	1135
Average Witnesses per Witnessed Deed	6.2

Excluding property transactions conveyed through wills, 377 transactions of gift, purchase, lease or feoffment by deed survive from the four sampled parishes between the years 1400 and 1500. Of these, 183 deeds carry a witness list, revealing a total of 1135 witnesses. Figure 8.19 illustrates that the average number of witnesses per deed (for which a witness-list survives) was six, with the most common numbers being five or seven. Very low numbers of witnesses are generally explained by poor legibility, rather than being representative: three appears to be the realistic minimum number. The highest number of witnesses, fifteen, are found in three transactions concerning John Reynewell, Fishmonger and Alderman, conveying his property in four parishes across the city including St Botolph Billingsgate and St Mary at Hill (most likely representing enfeoffment to use).²²

Amongst the 1135 instances of witnessing, only 365 individuals appear as witnesses. Clearly, this represents a situation where the same individuals were repeatedly acting as witnesses to each other's transactions, and is suggestive of the reciprocal arrangements mentioned by Muldrew. Social Network Analysis is especially useful in analysing the patterns amongst witnesses in this respect.

²² HR 163(59); 163(61).

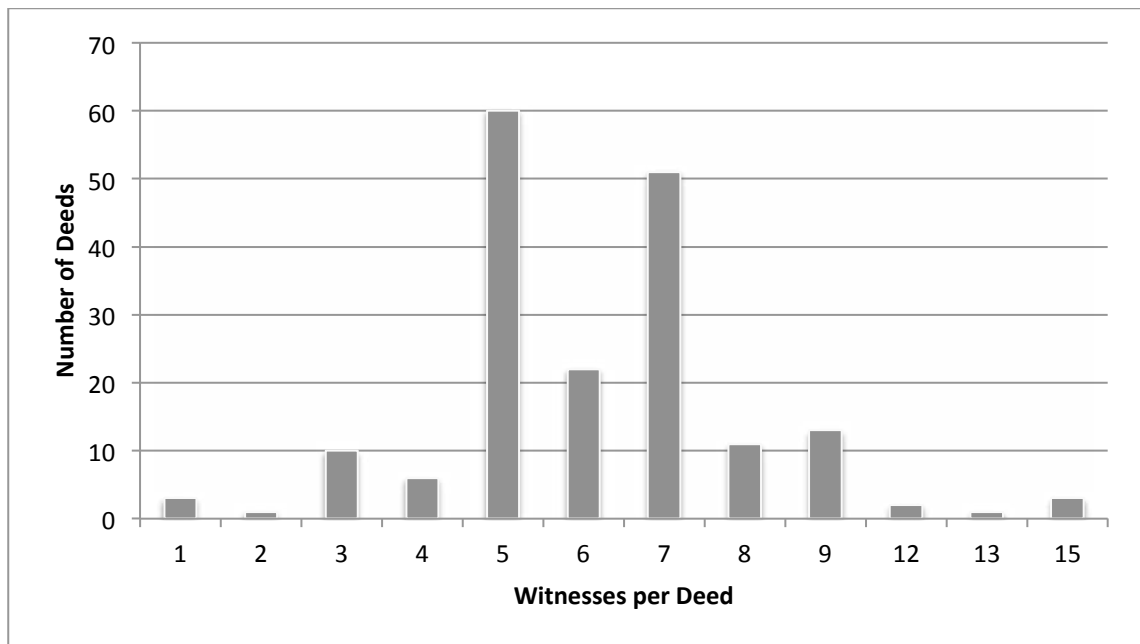


Figure 8.19 - Numbers of witnesses to deeds with at least one witness [all sampled wills].

The relative complexity of a deed as a description of social contacts, in comparison with a will, means that employing the same analysis can be problematic. Often, because of the use of feoffees, each deed carries the details of numerous individuals on both the sides of the ‘vendor’ and the ‘buyer’ of the property, in addition to any witnesses. Translating this into the terms of a social network creates vast numbers of relationships. Initial analysis of all the relationships inferred between the parties to a deed and the witnesses to it generates over 11,000 interpersonal links between over 1,100 individuals. Generalised Social Network Analysis from this scale quickly become meaningless. Targeted analysis, however, reveals trends amongst the witnessing of deeds that are distinct from those found in wills.

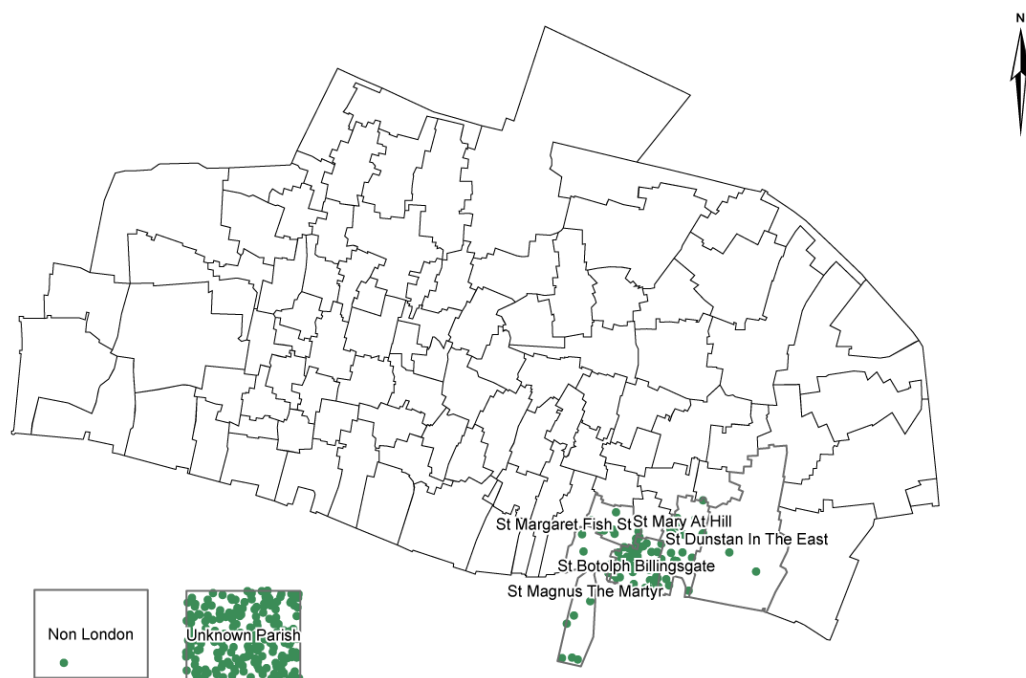


Figure 8.20 – Location by parish of witnesses to deeds in St Botolph Billingsgate, 1400-1500²³

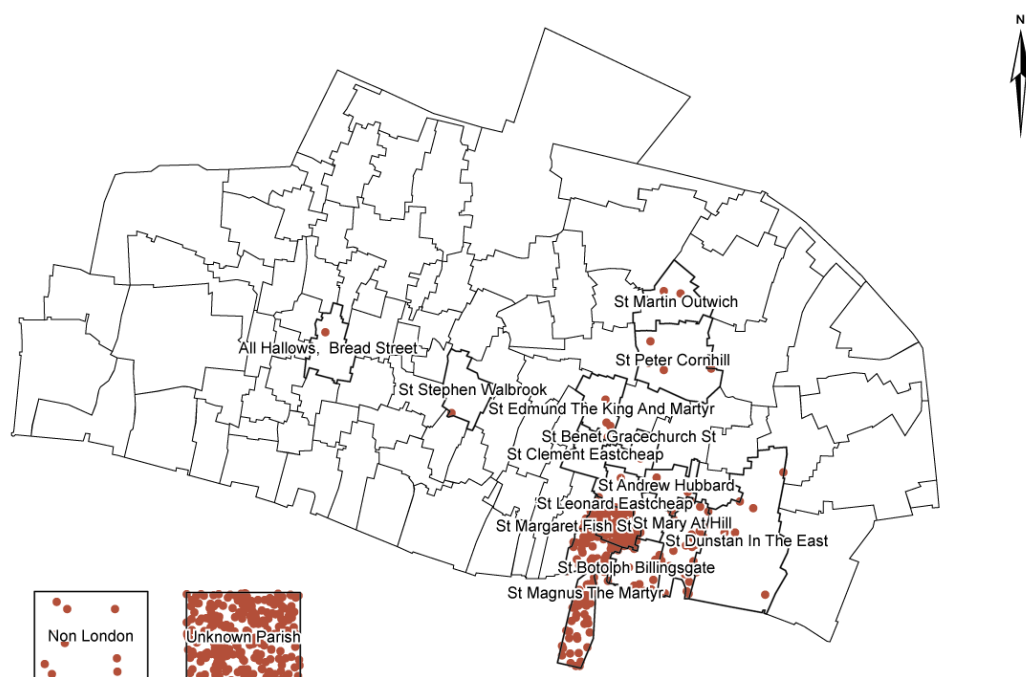


Figure 8.21 – Location by parish of witnesses to deeds in St Margaret Bridge Street, 1400-1500

²³ NB. In scatter-plots, dots indicate a resident somewhere in a parish, *not* their actual location within it.



Figure 8.22– Location by parish of witnesses to deeds in St Mary at Hill, 1400-1500

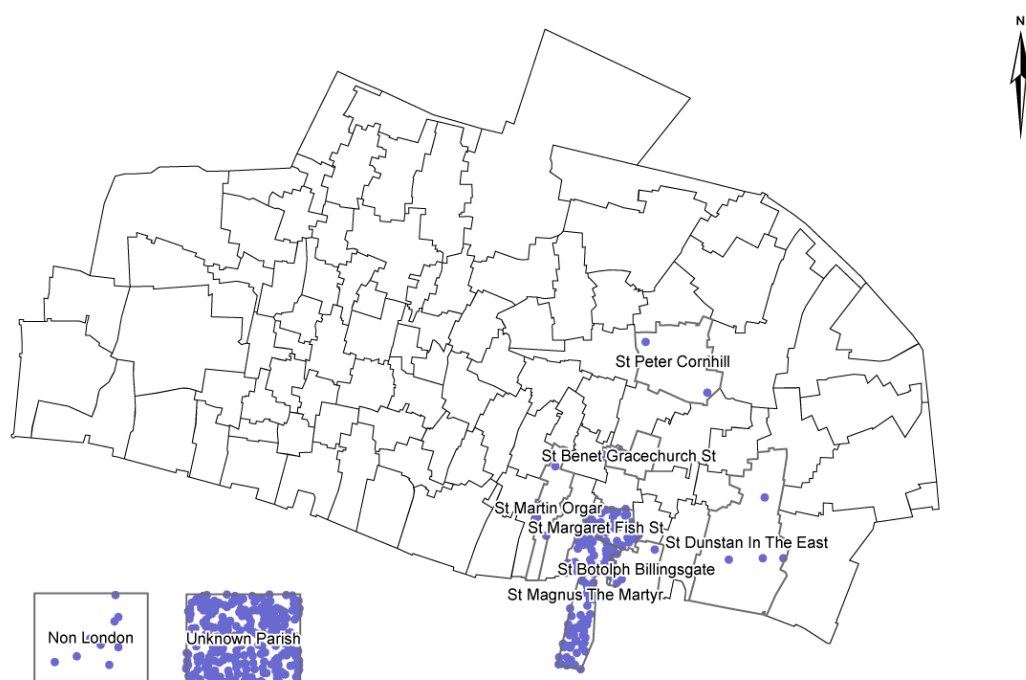


Figure 8.23 – Location by parish of witnesses to deeds in St Magnus the Martyr, 1400-1500

Plotting parish of residence of the witnesses to deeds from each parish (Figure 8.20 – Figure 8.23) reveals that while a strong preference remained for selection of witnesses from the same parish, there is a distinct geographical relationship in the distribution of others. Whereas witnesses, and executors and supervisors to wills, were little more likely to come from a geographically close parish than from one distant in the city, there is a much clearer linear decline over distance in the case of witnesses to deeds. Allowing for the large number of individuals of positively identified residency found amongst witnesses, and for the relative sizes of parishes, the neighbouring parishes are always those home to

the highest number of witnesses to the deeds of properties in each parish. Smaller neighbouring parishes, or parishes nearby but not contiguous were occasionally home to witnesses, but positive identification of witnesses from distant parishes as witnesses to deeds is even rarer (in relative terms) than for wills.

The parish of St Margaret Bridge Street provides an exception to the general lack of witnesses from non-neighbouring parishes. Figure 8.21 demonstrates that the majority of witnesses to deeds came within the parish, and the majority of the others hailed from the neighbouring parish of St Magnus, as expected. However, the distribution of the remainder of the witnesses partially follows the expected geographical linear decline, but also reveals an extended distribution toward the north and the west. While absolute numbers of witnesses in these more distant parishes are low, there is a definite trend following the course of the primary communication axis north- and west-bound within the city. The reasons for these trends being especially prominent in the case of St Margaret will be discussed below.

No particularly strong or unexpected trends emerge in the distribution by occupation of witnesses to deeds. Fishmongers, Stockfishmongers and Ironmongers are the most common witnesses amongst the sample, as would be expected on the basis of other local sources. However, clergy, scriveners, and legal professionals were very rare as witnesses to these transactions, in contrast to their relative frequent witnessing of wills. The higher number of Brewers and Hostellers, relative to their prominence in other sources is notable, the significance of which will be explored below.

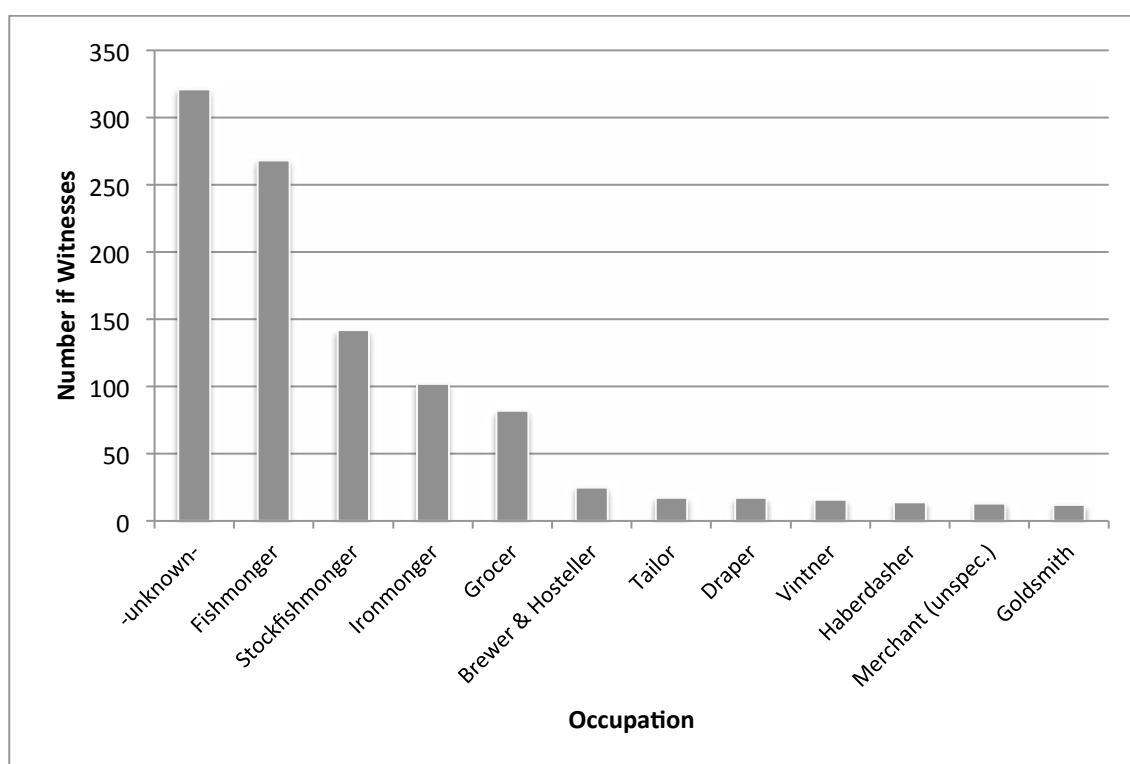


Figure 8.24 – Twelve most common occupations of recorded witnesses to deeds [all sampled deeds] (n=1029).

Witnessing of Deeds in the Parish of St Margaret Bridge Street

St Margaret Bridge Street provides a case study allowing a fuller understanding of relationships in property transactions. The nature of the deeds sample, including all available documents, declining rapidly in frequency in the latter half of the fifteenth century, as a result of the declining popularity of enrolling deeds at the Husting Court, precludes analysis in discrete sample periods. Instead, the first half of the fifteenth century as a whole has been selected as a representative sample.

Individual relationships expressed in the witnessing of deeds are represented in Figure 8.25 by directed arcs, originating from all parties to a deed, toward all of the witnesses to that document. Parishioners of St Margaret were the most frequent witnesses to deeds relating to property in that parish: they form the majority of the 'core'. More individuals of unknown parochial residence, or from the neighbouring parish of St Magnus, are found in peripheral locations in the plot. Analysis by occupation in Figure 8.26 reveals very similar trends, again as expected, with the vast majority of witnesses, and especially the most prolific of them, being members of the Fishmongers' Company. The size of the vertices is representative of the number of documents which they were witness to, confirming that not only were the largest numbers of witnesses parishioners of St Margaret, and Fishmongers, but that the vast majority of those who were frequent witnesses fitted into both those categories.

While over 200 individuals feature within these deeds in total, a smaller subset of these served as witnesses (only witnesses are represented with a dot for their vertex). Many individuals, therefore, only ever featured in deeds as parties to transactions, but never witnessed them, or vice-versa. Many known parishioners created many deeds, or witnessed many deeds, but the same individuals rarely did both. It would appear, therefore, that witnessing was not a truly 'reciprocal' relationship. John Profyt, for example, both serves as a witness, and is a party in a document to which witnesses were called, but different people were involved on each occasion.

Within the parish of St Margaret it is also possible to discern subtler geographical trends in witnessing of deeds on an even smaller 'micro' scale. Given the small physical size of the parish geographical patterns can be hard to discern. Nonetheless, some trends are striking. The only deeds referring to property in St Margaret witnessed by parishioners of St Peter Cornhill or St Mary at Hill, were those relating to property north of the point where Crooked Lane bisected the parish, while a parishioner of St Clement Eastcheap witnessed a deed to a property in Crooked Lane. Similarly, parishioners of St Dunstan in the East only witnessed deeds relating to Pudding Lane. While large numbers of parishioners of St Magnus are found amongst the witnesses to all properties in the parish, fewer are found north of Crooked Lane. An exception to this trend is property SMBS A8 (The Broadgate), deeds to which are frequently witnessed by parishioners of St Magnus.

The conventional format of deeds in Husting listed the serving Alderman of the relevant ward (or wards) before the list of witnesses. While they are not considered here, other locals appear as witnesses nearly as frequently. Many of the most prolific witnesses are unsurprising because of their local status. Thomas Duffhous, a parishioner of St Magnus and a Fishmonger, was Sheriff from 1428-9, and Thomas Badby, a parishioner of St Margaret was intimately associated with the Fishmongers' Company.²⁴ The close correlation between residence in the parish of St Margaret and membership of the Fishmongers' Company, which we have already seen, makes it difficult to establish which was the determining factor. Yet analysis by occupation shows that the core witnesses were almost exclusively Fishmongers, with only a handful of Stockfishmongers and those of other trades acting as witness more than once.

Conspicuous amongst the Fishmonger witnesses in the parish of St Margaret was one member of a minor trade, who in fact had amongst the highest *degree* of any individual in the sample. Robert Whaplode was a hosteller, and was 'landlord' of the Sun Inn on Bridge Street. Despite acting as churchwarden of St Margaret's in 1404, Whaplode never attained civic office. Indeed, his relations with the authorities were less than smooth, for in 1421 and 1423 he and his son were indicted for 'selling their ale within their hostels in hanaps [cups], and not in sealed measures according to the mayor's proclamation'.²⁵ Whaplode was clearly prosperous, and his family had strong links with the Fishmongers throughout the century; his prominence in the local deeds as a witness therefore exceeds his civic prestige. Rather, his eminence is likely to have represented his role as tavern landlord: it is indicative of the local social networks, just as found by the Clarks in their study of early-modern Canterbury.²⁶ It would be only logical to conclude that at least part of the physical process of sealing and witnessing of deeds is likely to have taken place within the tavern.

²⁴ Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages*, 340.

²⁵ ComReg 2 f.47v; Thomas and Jones, *CalPMR*, 158.

²⁶ Clark and Clark, "The Social Economy of the Canterbury Suburbs: The Evidence of the Census of 1563."

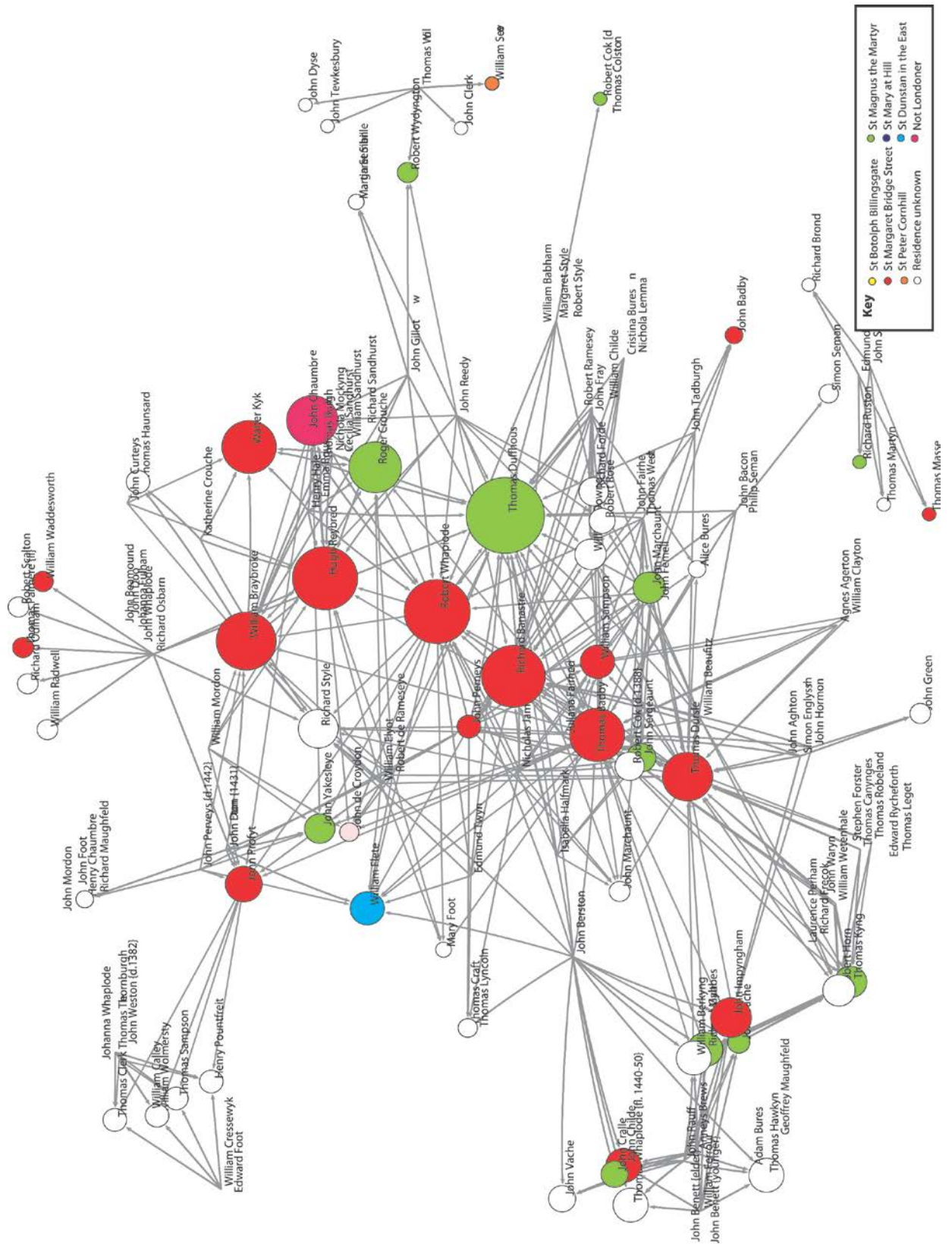


Figure 8.25 – Witnesses selected for property transactions in St Margaret Bridge Street 1400-1450. Size of vector represents individuals' degree, or frequency of selection as witness; colours represent parish of residence. (Some names omitted for clarity)

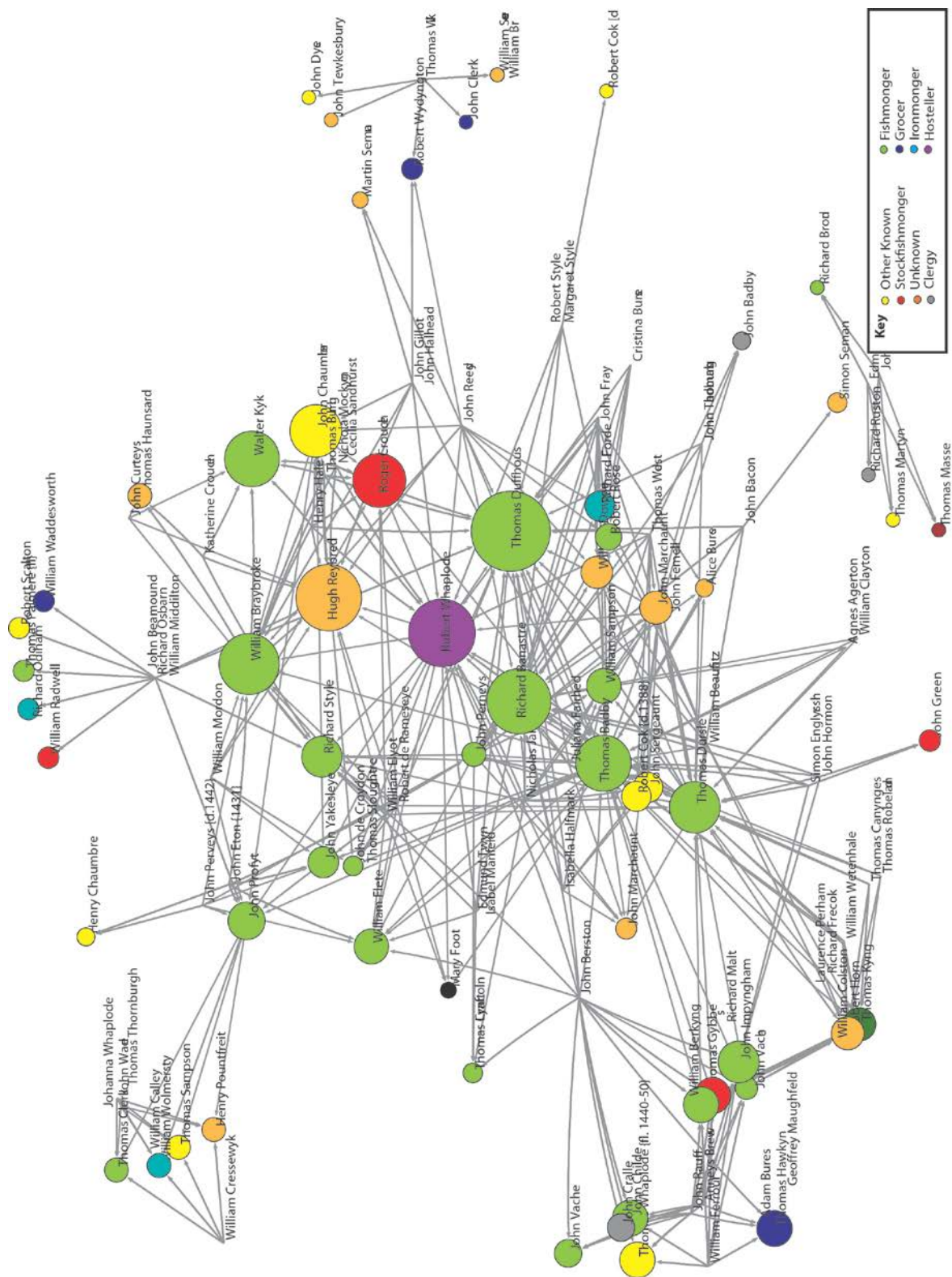


Figure 8.26 - Witnesses selected for property transactions in St Margaret Bridge Street 1400-1450. Size of vector represents individuals' degree, or frequency of selection as witness; colours represent occupation.

8.3 The Infrastructure of Documented Sociability

The patterns found amongst the social contacts in deeds and wills often suggest an underlying logic based upon *place*. Particular social activities that generated written record had specific places in which they occurred, while specific people were also associated with those places, influencing the relationships portrayed in those documents. That individuals met different categories of other people for different purposes in different physical contexts is common sense; yet it is also a primary explanation for the trends uncovered above. While we cannot consider the venues in which an individual interacted throughout their career or day-to-day life, we can consider the physical as well as the social contexts within the neighbourhood in which they generated the surviving records.

The openness, as well as the sanctity, of the parish church was undoubtedly attractive when it came to the choice of location when engaging in activities of legal record. The purpose of witnessing a document, as discussed, was to establish its legitimacy publicly, and the common *et aliis* clause reflects the desire for maximum publicity. The parish churches, and especially their most public parts, such as the porch, were therefore regarded as ideal locations.²⁷ Streets and markets could be regarded as the most public of spaces, yet this was not always so. Visibility and openness made for legitimacy, while its reverse was regarded as subversive or illegitimate.²⁸ While late evening markets, or *evecheapings*, were obvious occasions where a market was not an ideal venue for a legitimated transaction, the transience of the street could also undermine its function as a public venue for contracts. Pragmatically as well, the creation of a transaction requiring written record also required a suitable setting for the process of writing. In this respect, the other ‘public’ space of the neighbourhood would appear to have been even more suitable: the tavern or alehouse.

Drinking Houses

Wel koude he laten blood, and clippe ans shave,
And maken a charter of lond or acquitaunce ...
... In al the toun nas brewhous ne tavern
That he visited with his solas,
Ther any gaylard tappestere was.²⁹

It was the table that perhaps most of all transformed the stranger into a friend.³⁰

²⁷ This appears to be treated as an assumption by many historians but is seldom expanded upon.

²⁸ Frank Rexroth, *Deviance and Power in Late Medieval London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 162.

²⁹ Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, ed. Larry Dean Benson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), lines 3326-3336.

³⁰ Bray, *The Friend*, 150.

McSheffrey has demonstrated that the defining factor in the choice of locations for marriage contracts in fifteenth century London was practicality, rather than sanctity.³¹ Analysis of cases in London church courts revealed that the home of the bride was the most common location for the performance of vows of future consent, but that these were not considered 'private' or 'clandestine' as witnesses were invariably present. Other than homes or churches, drinking houses served as the most common locations for contracts of marriage. Taverns and alehouses have traditionally been regarded as being of ill repute, and not suitable for women's presence, let alone the important ritual of marriage. Yet the most common instances when drinking houses were mentioned in the church courts, related to marriage contracts and consents, without apparent negative association. There was no cultural objection to such a venue: 'in a world in which the sacred was immanent, medieval people saw nothing unusual about undertaking a sacrament "before God" in a space that we might regard as obviously profane'.³² The defining factor in the choice of an appropriate venue for an exchange of wedding contracts was accessibility: propriety depended upon visibility. Thus a tavern, like the hall of a prosperous household, or a church, was a social centre, full of people, and was thus an eminently suitable location for the exchange of a contract because of the ready supply of witnesses. Chaucer's Parish Clerk was doing nothing unusual in using the tavern as venue for his charters of land.

Chapter 4 detailed the large number of drinking houses found within the neighbourhood. The differential between the parishes in numbers of public houses was significant. St Magnus had no fewer than seven drinking venues, while neighbouring St Botolph had only one alehouse. St Margaret Bridge Street was home to three taverns or inns, and St Mary at Hill at least three. However, seen in geographical perspective, Bridge Street was home to a distinct concentration of hostleries. Five of those in the parish of St Magnus actually faced onto Bridge Street, as did all in the parish of St Margaret.

Legal Evidence

While it appears that many contracts, deeds, and wills were drawn up in taverns and alehouses, as well as parish churches and private houses, there is little chance of establishing locations definitively. Inferences can be gained from examining the information revealed when such contracts were disputed. The numbers, and types, of cases recorded as having occurred in the parishes of the neighbourhood, each with its own social and economic character, allows some impression of the

³¹ Shannon McSheffrey, "Place, Space, and Situation: Public and Private in the Making of Marriage in Late-Medieval London," *Speculum* 79, no. 4 (2004): 960-990.

³² Barbara Hanawalt, *Of Good and Ill Repute: Gender and Social Control in Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 105; McSheffrey, "Place, Space, and Situation," 973, 983-5.

spatial distribution of contract making. Parishes that had disproportionate numbers of taverns and alehouses as a product of their topography were the parishes that served as venue for legal disputes in a disproportionate number of cases.

Despite London's privilege preventing any freeman from impleading in any but a civic court, Londoners had recourse to the courts of Common Pleas, of the Chancery, and of King's Bench, located conveniently nearby in Westminster. The Court of Common Pleas entertained most cases relating to London. The majority of these related to debts and bonds, primarily between Londoners and non-Londoners.³³ The records of these courts are copious, to the extent that comprehensive indexes and calendars of their proceedings and depositions remain incomplete, rendering any attempt to examine cases by location within London impractical.

The 'Londoners and the Law' project, has, however, catalogued those cases in the plea rolls of the Court of Common Pleas (TNA CP40) that were highlighted by the scribes as relating to London. Many of the entries in these rolls refer to events taking place in named parishes, allowing identification and analysis (Figure 8.27). These figures relate to events taking place in a parish, rather than necessarily relating to parishioners themselves, especially as London citizenship was often hidden when using Westminster Courts. Disputes in Common Pleas predominantly concerned activity within St Magnus the Martyr: more than twice as many cases were found as in the second most litigious parish, St Botolph Billingsgate. St Margaret Bridge Street had a smaller number of cases again, while the parish of St Mary at Hill had by far the smallest number of cases at only twenty-three.

The breakdown of the cases by type of action is roughly comparable across all parishes. A clear majority of cases related to bonds, while in all parishes apart from St Magnus, the second most common was the related category of loan disputes. While bonds were the most common category of dispute in absolute terms, they represented a far smaller proportion in parishes other than St Magnus. Proportionately more cases relating to sale of goods, theft, contractual disputes, and interpersonal crimes, were found in the parishes of St Margaret, St Botolph and St Mary.

The reasons for markedly disproportionate numbers of Common Pleas cases, and the proportion of them relating to bonds or other categories of dispute, can be related to the commercial characters of the respective parishes. St Magnus' number of bond cases points toward a high level of mercantile activity, in addition to the relatively high population of the parish. While mercantile dealing, and thus disputes, inevitably took place in the other parishes, the higher proportions of disputes which

³³ Penny Tucker, "Relationships Between London's Courts and the Westminster Courts in the Reign of Edward IV," in *Courts, Counties and the Capital in the Latter Middle Ages*, ed. Diana Dunn, The Fifteenth Century 4 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 131.

can be related to retail, or personal, transactions is proportionately higher in them, reflecting the nature of trade actually taking place in these locations, and ultimately their underlying spatial and social character.

Considering the number of Common Pleas cases in proportion to the population of each parish is a useful means of comparing the relative number of disputes originating in each parish. However, in the absence of accurate population data, the only consistent near contemporary figures for parish population are those provided for number of communicant parishioners in the 1548 Chantry Certificates. While the exact relationship between the number of communicant parishioners, or of householders, with actual population, is disputed, it was likely to have followed a similar pattern in all parishes. Furthermore, those who could afford to bring a case to a Westminster law court probably also qualified as a communicant parishioner. While undoubtedly crude, this allows some basis for relative comparison of rates of litigation 'per head'.

Relative to approximate parochial population size using the 1548 figures, the distribution of Common Pleas petitions remains broadly similar (Figure 8.28). The number of disputes in the parish of St Magnus remained the greatest, but in consideration of the large population of this parish, in relative terms it returns to the same order of magnitude as its neighbouring parishes of St Botolph and St Margaret. Relative to their populations, the number of cases in these parishes reverses. That St Margaret's population stood at only two-thirds that of St Botolph meant that those forty-four cases occurring there indicate a higher proportionate number of disputes. St Mary at Hill, despite its location, encompassing Billingsgate itself, in fact had a high communicant population, meaning that disputes occurring there were proportionately less common.

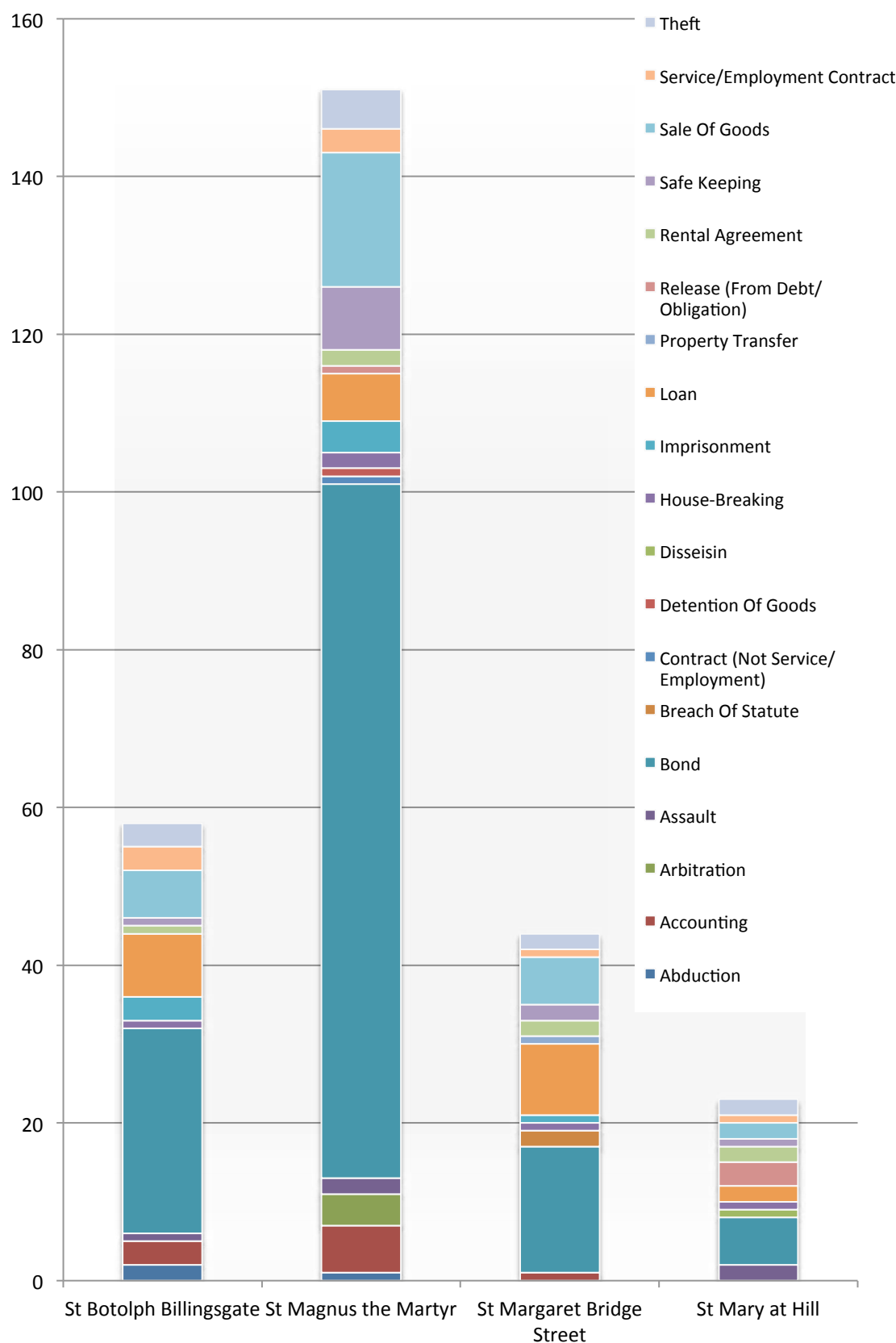


Figure 8.27 – Common Pleas petitions referring to events in sample parishes (c.1400-1480), plotted by parish and category. (CMH ‘Londoners and the Law’ project, n=276).

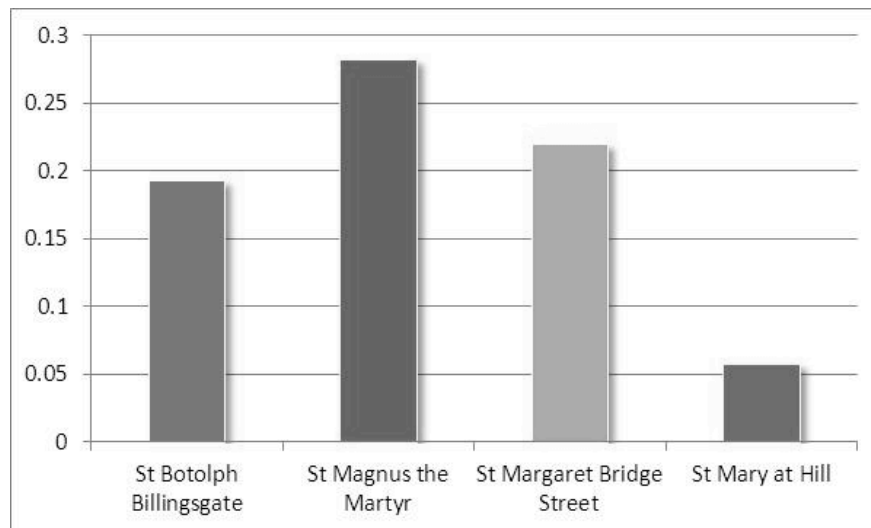


Figure 8.28 – Number of Common Pleas petitions relative to size of parish reflected by number of communicant parishioners. ('Londoners and the Law' cases in proportion to 1548 Chantry Certificate figures).

The parish of St Margaret poses the most interesting case in Common Pleas disputes: relative to its small size a large number of cases originated there, yet a relatively large proportion of these related to retail and personal matters, rather than bonds. Similarly St Magnus' disproportionate number of legal cases relative to its population, and very high proportion of bonds, suggestive of mercantile activity, is also a reflection of its high number of taverns and inns, and ultimately reflective of its location within the city. Lying on the primary route from the south to the city, Bridge Street was a prime commercial site, secondary perhaps only to Cheapside. Bridge Street was the focal point of the neighbourhood, representing the convergence of access paths from the surrounding streets and parishes. The large number of inns and taverns reflect this topographical status and its commercial function servicing the many transactions conducted between those travelling from the south and Londoners.

8.4 Tracing Personal Interactions

Perhaps the hardest aspect of life for the historian to examine is ‘private life’ and personal interactions. One aspect of personal contact that is visible through the sources of this study is bequests in wills. While choices of executor and supervisor were regular, easily quantifiable and comparable between individuals, analysis of bequests is more problematic. Most obviously wills seldom accounted for the entirety of an estate, and there is no telling what executors did with the surplus intended for ‘pious uses’. While one testator may have made dozens of bequests in his will including many small gifts to staff and poor neighbours, and another made only one or two bequests and specified a gift ‘for the poor’, there is no way to establish the overall value of either’s estate, or indeed how many individuals and whom, benefited. Furthermore, unlike the choice of executors, which can be regarded as a binary decision (someone was either nominated, or they were not), a single gift in a will could be of the value a hundred pounds, or just a few shillings. Gifts could also comprise something unquantifiable, such as remission from unspecified debts, or apprenticeship conditions, making it difficult to assess bequests based on ‘value’. Similarly, the format of many wills, means that it is quite common to find multiple bequests to the same person, while others contain only a single bequest of higher value.

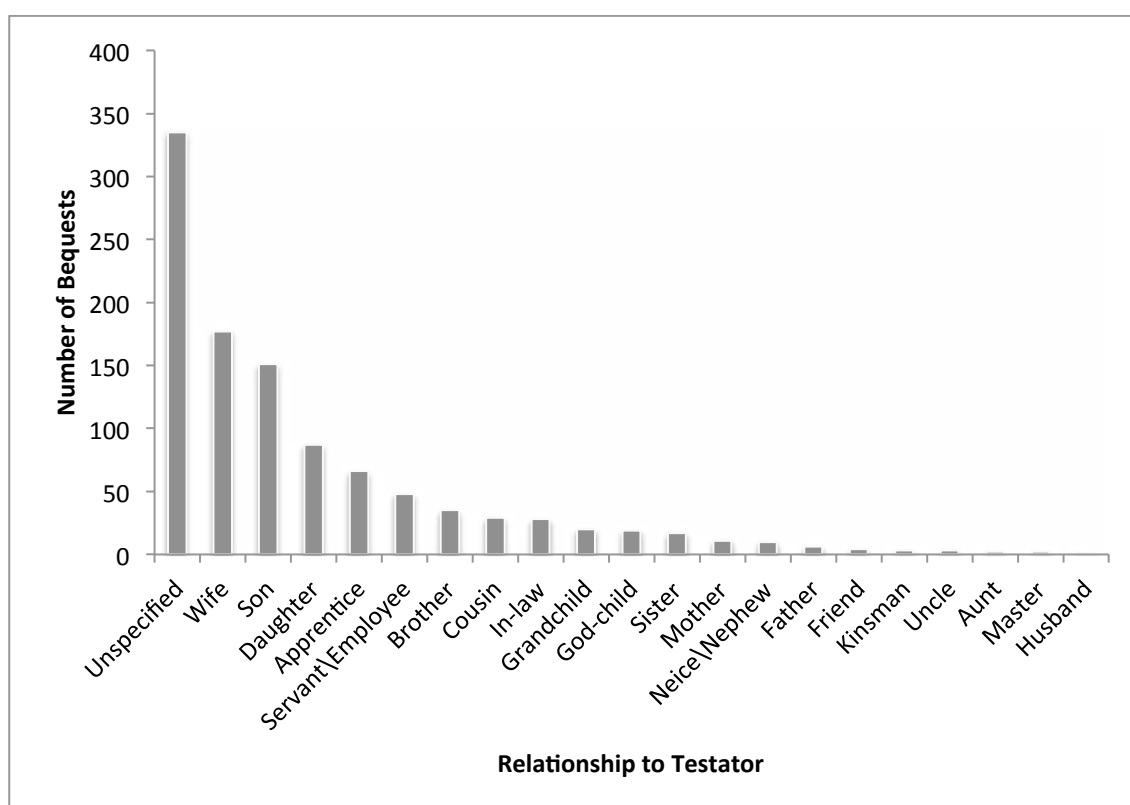


Figure 8.29 – Personal bequests [all sampled wills] (n=1054).

The **number** of bequests (not value), in terms of relationships between testators and the recipients, is depicted in Figure 8.29. The most common recipients of bequests were those of no specified relationship, especially when it is remembered that bequests to wives and sons often repeated within

a single will, for example both individual bequests of chattels, and separately of land, inflating these totals. Together, 'next of kin' barely outnumber those of unspecified relationship as recipients of bequests. Assuming that if a family or employment relationship existed, it was likely to have been recorded, this means that a large number of gifts were made to people outside the family and the immediate household economy. It is probable, therefore, that these were people with whom the testator had a personal relationship: friends, neighbours and business associates.

Only a minority of bequests to individuals with no relationship with the testator display homophily, in terms of either parochial residence or occupation. Of 335 such bequests in the detailed sample, only 139, or 41%, took place between two residents of the same parish (primarily St Magnus). Furthermore, only 73, or 21%, took place between two individuals of the same occupation (primarily Fishmongers). The majority of recipients of gifts in wills are untraceable in terms of occupation or residence, reflecting the difficulty in identifying individuals not otherwise active within the sample area. However, a disproportionate number of recipients with no obvious familial or professional link to the testator are clergy, and a number of individuals from humble occupations (who were unlikely to feature in other aspects of the study) such as Carters and Cooks are also present, undoubtedly reflecting unrecorded business interactions. For example, Walter Plogge of St Mary at Hill, of unknown occupation but sufficient wealth to leave silverware to his children, included amongst his beneficiaries John Perry, a Porter, and John Godyng, a Tapisser.³⁴

There are many potential explanations for the differences between the social makeup of recipients of bequests in wills, and the choices of executors, supervisors and witnesses. The donation of many small gifts to clergy and especially chaplains and clerks was often intended to ensure attendance at the testator's funeral or otherwise pray for him; John Philip, himself a priest at St Mary at Hill, left 20d to each of five other priests at that church explicitly that they would attend his funeral.³⁵ This does not exclude, however, the fact that many such gifts to clergy were personal rather than obligatory in their nature: Helen Warbulton, widow of St Mary at Hill left goods including a tapestry to Richard Denham, whom she described as 'my favourite priest', while Henry Kellow, tailor of the same parish, described John Redy, chaplain, as his 'spiritual father'.³⁶

Bequests to those without 'formal' connections most likely reflect friendship at a level of social equals. Richard Darneton, Fishmonger of St Magnus (†1485), nominated John Crouch as the supervisor of his will, rewarding him 40s, as was customary, yet also gave him a 'gold ring set with a

³⁴ ComReg 2 f.206.

³⁵ ComReg 8 f.24.

³⁶ PROB 11/4 Stockton 1; PROB 11/10 Vox 22.

stone' as a gift for his wife.³⁷ William Bacon, Haberdasher of St Botolph Billingsgate (†1492), left £20 to Dame Elizabeth Stockton, widow, 'for the kindness that she showed unto me', yet intriguingly imposed the condition that this would be void if 'she vexes my wife or executors for any further costs or goods'.³⁸ The connection between widows and their late husbands' contacts and friends is not difficult to find. Richard Chaloner, Stockfishmonger, served as executor to John Hicheman, Tailor (†1451), and then feoffee on behalf of the latter's wife, Maud, for whom he also served as executor at her death five years later.³⁹ Very rarely, however, were terms such as 'friend' explicitly used, one instance being when Walter Shipton, Draper of St Magnus (†1417) forgave John Brandon, fellow draper, his debts, describing him as *nuper socio meo*.⁴⁰ These gifts appear to be representative of the kinds of relationships found between testators and their executors: exhibiting homophily often in terms of occupation or occupational status, however they are far from representing a majority of such gifts.

At least as common as bequests to unrelated social equals were gifts to servants and employees, intriguingly both the testator's own servants, and in some cases the servants of their friends and neighbours. William Bacon (†1492) can be considered typical, if generous, in having left Margaret Langley, his servant, £40 and a bed with its fittings, for 'her good and diligent service which she hath doon to me and my wife Elizabeth'. This was in addition to much smaller gifts to other servants, many of which appear to have been connected to his Haberdasher's shop rather than his home.⁴¹ More typically 'servants' who were in fact 'journeymen' or 'employees' within the testator's profession, were given generous gifts. Nicholas Aghton, Stockfishmonger of St Magnus (†1418), was not unusual in giving his servants Robert Page and Robert Hurlebat £10 each; both of these men went on to become prominent local personalities in their own rights, and would have almost certainly have been his former apprentices.⁴² Helen Warbulton's two servants, William Malton and Thomas Wodeless evidently ran her late husband's Ironmongers' shop after his death, each receiving £10 and half of the 'goods of the shop' in her will.⁴³ William Overy, merchant of St Mary at Hill

³⁷ PROB 11/7 Logge 16.

³⁸ PROB 11/9 Dogett 10.

³⁹ PROB 11/1 Rous 16; ComReg 5 f.229.

⁴⁰ ComReg 2 f.363v.

⁴¹ PROB 11/9 Dogett 10.

⁴² ComReg 2 f.312.

⁴³ PROB 11/4 Stockton 1.

(†1496), left a gown each to his ‘bargemen’, William Hall, Nicholas Wells and John Westesse.⁴⁴ Clearly, these employees were not former apprentices, but literally the functionaries of his business, yet he still saw fit to remember them in his will.

Household servants were typically given much smaller bequests, often including household goods: Johanna Payne-Childe-Kerville (†1487), for instance, bequeathed her servant Agnes Brachawe a featherbed and bolster.⁴⁵ Widows did appear to remember servants in this manner more often, yet they were most commonly the ones whose death finally dissolved the household. William Hall, Salter of St Mary at Hill (†1500), gave ‘a russet gowne that my wife wored when she lyved’ to Alice Duffeld, whom he described as ‘my late wife’s servant’.⁴⁶

Many testators remembered former servants in addition to current employees, suggesting again that a more personal, than simply conventional relationship was at play. For example, Thomas Badby (†1445) left 13s 4d to Margaret Colston, ‘late my servant’.⁴⁷ More notable, however, are the cases where gifts are left to other people’s servants, or even the former servants of others. The will of William Rose, Grocer (†1458), is particularly revealing, for although evidently wealthy, he appears to have died young, leaving the majority of his goods to his mother, Katherine Kyng of Bury St Edmunds. In the absence of family, his gifts reveal the intimate nature of his relationship with the domestic servants of his master’s household. He gave 10s to Godfrey Saledus, ‘cook in the household of my Master Stephen Forster’, 13s 4d to Agnes Sandale, servant of Stephen Forster, 6s 8d to Alice Potyler ‘who lives in same house’ and 3s 4d to Martin, ‘the sub-cook in the house’.⁴⁸ Thomas Brownyng, Fishmonger (†1418), still remembered the fellow former apprentices of his master Thomas Duffhous, namely William Deynes and Richard Fresheston, assigning them gifts of 20s.⁴⁹ Sir John Philip, the priest of St Mary at Hill (†1491), remembered only servants, the poor and other clergy in his will. His bequests included 3s 4d each on their marriage day for Margery, Agnes and Isabell, servants with Mistress Bretayn, 3s 4d each for John Bampton, Alice Bampton,

⁴⁴ PROB 11/11 Horne 6.

⁴⁵ PROB 11/7 Wattys 11.

⁴⁶ ComReg 8 f.208.

⁴⁷ ComReg 4 f.169v.

⁴⁸ ComReg 5 f.247.

⁴⁹ PROB 11/2 Marche 41.

Thomas Herstede and William Milton, servants with John Derham, grocer, and 3s 4d for Agnes Down, servant with William Maundefeld, Cheesemonger.⁵⁰

Essentially, it appears that recipients of bequests were personal choices, based upon intimate acquaintance, and often taking into account perceived need. While it was expedient to choose social equals, or betters, to serve as executor and supervisor to a will, and although a special friendship with them might be commemorated with a gift, it was more often relationships with needier friends, associates and neighbours that were remembered with a bequest.

Many wills contain bequests that can be considered charitable 'pious acts', but directed at specific individuals known from the neighbourhood, rather than specified in generic terms. Richard Segrym, clerk of St Botolph Billingsgate (†1495), amongst his conventional pious bequests to religious houses and the poor of the parish, left 40s to Elizabeth Philip, 'widow of London', 40s to Roger Davy, servant, and £3 6s 8d to William Bevyngton, son of John, Grocer, 'toward his exhibition to the skole'.⁵¹ Elizabeth Bowell, a Mercer's widow of St Mary at Hill (†1483), explicitly wrote in her will 'I bequeth to a pore childe William Smyth 40s'.⁵² The will of priest John Ostwike (†1495) reveals what may have been a reverse situation of charity. Ostwike left £23 6s 8d to John Smyth, Stockfishmonger, and his wife Isabel 'for the past desynes and laboures that they and their servants have sustained and bourne by me', as well as 20s each to Rose and Joan Godford widow, their servants, as well as and 40s and his best gown to William Stanton servant with John Smyth. It would appear that the Smyths had, of their charity, taken in an elderly priest, who was now rewarding their care with generous gifts.⁵³

Choice of godparents was one particular form of social relationship that highlights personal interactions and relationships. Godchildren are remembered in a small number of wills, but these instances reveal evidence of friendship between parents. William Bacon, Haberdasher (†1492), left five marks each to his three god-children, William Halhead, William Crompe and William Page (all evidently named after him) as well as 40s to his wife's goddaughter Elizabeth Mersham. Bacon was obviously connected with the Halhead family, for he also left 5 marks to Robert Halhead, clerk, to pray for him, and £5 and a silver cup to John Halhead, Grocer.⁵⁴ There can be little doubt that

⁵⁰ ComReg 8 f.24.

⁵¹ ComReg 8 f.85v.

⁵² ComReg 6 f.352.

⁵³ PROB 11/10 Vox 29.

⁵⁴ PROB 11/9 Dogett 10.

these two families were intimately connected. Similarly, John Towker, Cutler of St Magnus left a 'little primer covered in black leather' to his godson Thomas Humfrey, as well as 12d each for other unspecified godchildren, while he left John Humfrey, Bowyer, and undoubtedly the boy's father, a violet coloured gown. Elizabeth Keyes of St Magnus (†1484) was wealthy widow, and part of the same social network as Towker: she left Joan, John's wife, her best gown, and their son John 40s. Elizabeth's godchildren were, however, all the children of Harry Stone, Stockfishmonger. William Stone was given a maser with an impression of a rose and a 'schotche' in the bottom and 'two payer of schetes of 10 ells the payer' while his brother John Stone and their sister Joan each received 40s and two pairs of sheets.⁵⁵

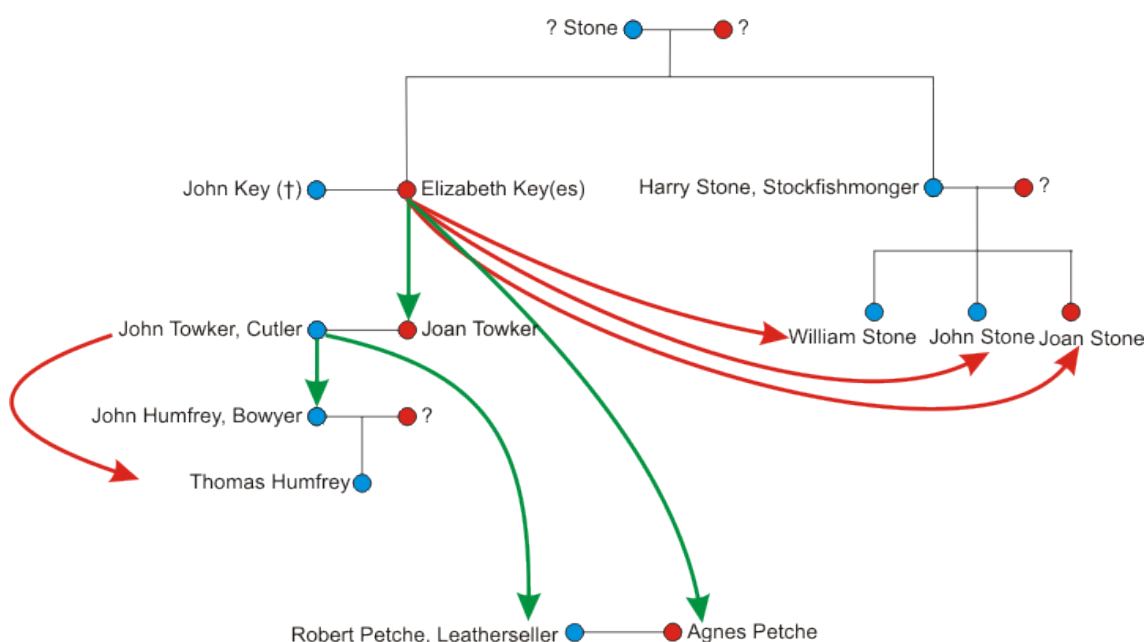


Figure 8.30 – Simplified network diagram depicting godparent relationships (red), other bequests (green) and family relationships (black), St Magnus the Martyr, c.1480s

Figure 8.30 depicts the network godparents and bequests from this example. Social contacts resulting in bequests stretch across greater social distance than those of godparenting. Female networks are especially prominent, for widows were much more likely to make greater numbers of smaller gifts in their wills than would men with a surviving wife. Nonetheless this case illustrates that the choice of godparents, or perhaps the acceptance of god-parenthood, was one defined by similar social expedencies as the choice of executor.⁵⁶ It may have been a good idea to attempt to nominate someone of higher social standing than oneself, but conversely it would have been seemly to accept godparenthood of a child of someone of considerably lower status.

⁵⁵ ComReg 6 f.362v.

⁵⁶ Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (Yale University Press, 2003), 202.

8.5 The Social Topography of the Neighbourhood

Investigations of social interactions in this study are, of course, fragmentary and can only be suggestive. There are, however, clear indications of the differing forms of interaction in various social spheres and contexts, as well as underlying trends across most spheres. The bulk of the available evidence relates to legal and formal activities, such as the composition of wills, and appointment of functionaries to wills, and the creation of deeds and bonds. These cannot be considered indicative of social interaction in general but, surely, they do indicate the priorities, loyalties and perceptions of trust that are likely to have been founded in deeper and more common social relations.

The pattern behind the contractual interactions of the residents of the Bridgehead parishes is ultimately one of geography – not institutional topography – but geography of communication and commerce. While evidence from the appointment of executors and supervisors initially indicates preponderance for choice of individuals residing within the same parish, closer analysis reveals that this can most likely be accounted for by the underlying trends for occupational preference, which themselves reflect topographical factors. Throughout the majority of the fifteenth century, the majority of residents of the parish of St Margaret Bridge Street, for example, were Fishmongers; hence the chances of selecting another Fishmonger as executor were increased both by trade affinity, and by geographical proximity. Furthermore, the presence of a core and periphery of occupations amongst networks of executors and testators emphasize that social status was an important determinant in this choice, which in an occupationally restricted neighbourhood meant that odds of selecting someone of the same trade were even higher. Therefore it was predictable that in the period 1480-1500, when greater occupational diversity was to be found, social heterogeneity amongst testators and their appointees was also seen, subject to the same social stratification.

Inevitably, investigation of social interactions through situations that generated written records is constrained by specific requirements of those situations. If executors and supervisors were generally chosen from the same parish, and same social strata as the testator on the basis of personal knowledge, trust, and choice, then witnesses to wills appear to represent the immediacy of death, or the relative privacy of the composition of the will, by also comprising those from the immediate neighbourhood, but not necessarily any deliberate social differentiation. Conversely, the witnessing of deeds illustrates the public nature of such events, and thus the social and commercial situations of those involved. The prominence of innkeepers, for instance, surely suggests that the inn was a popular venue for the sealing of contracts, and the composition of witness lists may suggest those associating and doing business there.

The relationship between the number of bonds sealed (and then disputed) within a parish and the number of inns and taverns demonstrates the primary importance of such establishments as venues

for legal interactions, commercial, and most probably also personal deals. This is demonstrated in the fact that the parish of St Magnus is the most connected to other parishes in all categories of analysis, including both witnessing of deeds and all aspects of will-making. The witnesses to deeds in the parish of St Margaret also demonstrate the significance of the connectedness of the parish, with witnesses hailing from many parishes along the lines of streets radiating from that parish.

Throughout all analysis of the networks and sociability of the neighbourhood, there emerges a clear sense of the interlocking, and overlapping, of the separate 'mosaic of worlds'. The primary distinctions between them appear as homophily in terms of social status (expressed through Company membership) and trade itself. Naturally these overlapped considerably throughout the majority of the fifteenth century: it would be futile to try to establish whether a circle of Fishmongers associated together because they were Fishmongers, or because they were neighbours, because the two were so tightly bound. Likewise, whether increasing heterogeneity amongst associates in the 1480s and 90s was a function of increasing occupational diversity, or reflected the changing nature of the Companies and their influence on their members, for the two are inextricably linked.

The only confident conclusion to be had from this exploration is that different events and social circumstances brought together different groups of people from within the neighbourhood, and occasionally from beyond. There was, however, no unified or monolithic 'local community', but rather something resembling the infinitely overlapping mesh of networks and contacts that social researchers describe so well in modern cities.

9 Conclusions

People make their own cities, but never under situations of their own choosing.¹

The fifteenth century was a unique period of transition in London, with one particular component of the social jigsaw witnessing dramatic change: the social topography of the City. Chapter 5 discussed the concept of the trade quarter, noting the key changes that the Bridgehead neighbourhood witnessed during the fifteenth century: growing heterogeneity of occupations, and the breakdown of the concentration of Fishmongers in this, and indeed in their other 'core' neighbourhood. The patterns witnessed emphasize the importance of occupation in the medieval city, but the changes also show that 'neighbourhood' continued unchanged: the social composition of the local area changed but the nature of the community did not. Increasing formalisation of the institutions of the City would appear to have made up for the decline in local association based upon social affinity.

That the concentration of Fishmongers and Stockfishmongers within the Bridgehead, one of their trade quarters, was so distinct in the sample period 1400-1420, yet so diluted by the period 1480-1500 betrayed deep structural changes in both the nature of the neighbourhood, and in the economy of the City itself. At the opening of the fifteenth century, it was clear that, at least in this case, the character of the local economy was defined not only by the agglomeration benefits enjoyed by Fishmongers co-locating in a space which provided them with easy access to their supplies, and to each other, but also by custom. Delving into the local social activities of the Fishmongers, the Company actually having operated as a 'federation' of small, local fellowships, under the banner of one charter, it emerges that not only was there a regulatory and practical requirement for Fishmongers to locate together, but also a social one. In the earliest sample, the concentrations of Fishmongers were so marked that it could be considered less a reflection of agglomeration benefit and economic expediency, than of dogmatic custom.

By the period 1480-1500, the distribution of Fishmongers was dramatically dispersed, while overall numbers had not changed dramatically, indicating that a major change had taken place. The distribution of Fishmongers throughout the city by 1500 appears to have followed a pattern representative of practical agglomeration benefits. Rather than intense clustering, Fishmongers could be found close to, but not necessarily directly neighbouring, each other, and along the riverfront. They still had access to the resources they needed in common while, without the social and customary pressure to co-locate, they were able to choose advantageous locations slightly further away. The Fishmongers appear to have then been making their individual judgements of the

¹ Roy Porter, *London: A Social History*, New Edition. (London: Penguin, 2000), xvi.

best locations for their businesses, which might have included increasing trade in goods other than fish. Coincidental with this transition was the change in the constitutional structure of the Fishmongers' Company, from local fellowships with local halls, to a centralised and formalised organisation. Commensurately the shift away from an emphasis on local control and sociability coincided with the dispersal of their members from their traditional locations. Whether this represents the Company responding to changing circumstances, or its members reacting to increased freedom, is not at all clear. Further study in comparison with other Companies may reveal this.

The declining clustering amongst Fishmongers was matched by the increasing diversity of occupations recorded within the Bridgehead. While not a zero-sum equation, not only was there a smaller proportion of London's Fishmongers living within the sampled parishes, but their absolute numbers within them also declined. The population of the neighbourhood did not decline, so inevitably the local residents were members of an increasing number of companies. The sheer diversity of the companies represented by 1500, many of them being very far removed from their respective 'quarters', suggests similar processes of structural change within other companies. This local and organisational change can be seen as part of the wider transition of London from a 'guild city' in the fourteenth century, to being a truly commercial city in the early modern period.

Within the neighbourhood the changing occupational composition highlights another key aspect of local sociability. It was said that the key question in neighbourhood study is to determine the proportion of interactions and social contacts that occurred within, as opposed to outside of, the neighbourhood. Chapter 8 investigated the residency and occupations of executors, supervisors and witnesses to wills, as well as to deeds. These were taken as a proxy for 'friendship', or at least sociability. Throughout the sample key patterns emerged, indicating a clear preference for executors and witnesses to wills who were from the immediate vicinity of the testator, usually the same parish. Where individuals connected to a will were not resident in the same parish as the testator, it appears that if someone were to live elsewhere, that was just as likely to have been at any random location in the city, as in a neighbouring parish. A linear decline in numbers of social contacts away from the home parish, which might have been expected, was not found at all.

Furthermore, and perhaps most significantly, while the occupational makeup of the neighbourhood had changed so dramatically by 1500, the geographical distribution of those serving as executors and witnesses to wills did not change. Rather than occupation having been a major determinant of social contacts and choices in this respect, it appears that status was a greater influence. In 1400 the choice of executors and witnesses to the will of a Fishmonger in the parish of St Margaret Bridge Street was likely to have been biased toward other Fishmongers by numerical odds, yet by 1500 those found in these roles reflected the new occupational patterns of the neighbourhood. The

constant was occupational status – high status Fishmongers, Grocers and Mercers, for example, were likely to serve each other's wills in proportion to their colocation, while lower status Bowyers, Cutlers or Chandlers exhibited the same trends amongst themselves. Sociability, therefore seems to have been influenced by those of a similar level of prosperity and prestige whom one came across within one's local area.

Wills could be considered to have been a special case, - with their inherent religious emphasis perhaps creating a bias toward parochially based choice of executors, supervisors and witnesses. However, trends found amongst the witnesses to deeds were, while distinct, generally similar. The majority of these witnesses also came from the same parish as the location of the property in question, however there was also a distinct geographical pattern, both within parishes, and in the patterns of selection of witnesses from other parishes. The selection of witnesses followed the axial networks of the City – within a parish witnesses to deeds tended to come from the same street, or even section of a street, as the location of the property in question. Where they came from elsewhere, it tended to be from a location linked by a thoroughfare, as shown most dramatically in the case of St Margaret Bridge Street, a parish on one of the most important routes in the city, where witnesses to local deeds came from parishes all along the key arteries leading from the area. In this light it is clear that 'neighbourhood' was not so much defined by boundaries, but by functional networks. In one sense the parish itself was a network, but so was the street system, and the social and economic links that followed it.

In describing the 'soft city', Raban, and many other social theorists, saw the defining character of modern urban life as the relative absence of locally defined ties – an individual's social neighbourhood can be located in any location, and number of locations, which they chose, or are pulled toward. This quality was largely lacking in the fifteenth century Bridgehead, but not altogether absent. Locally defined social ties were unquestionably prominent, and perhaps even dominant. However, the fact that many ties did exist between neighbours, and those from seemingly random locations within the city, together with the increasing occupational diversity (and therefore the development of Companies as supra-local organisations from their origins as neighbourhood organisations) could be seen as early indications of the development of this urban way of life. London in 1500 was not a 'soft city', but it was somewhat softer than it had been in 1400.

Further Considerations

Place is important; it bears down on us, we mythicize it – often it is our greatest comfort, the one reassuringly solid element in an otherwise soft city.²

² Raban, *Soft City*, 213.

The economic and physical topography of the area, together with civic and company custom, conspired to set a particular combination of circumstances before its residents, influencing their business activities, social activities and even revealing their likely origins. Furthermore, the social spheres which encompassed local residents – based upon their economic activities, their religious choices, as well as their parochial religion and place in ward politics – were simultaneously distinct, but yet correlated. Companies, fraternities, the management of parish churches, and simple proximity each brought people together, yet people brought them together through the fact that each person was inevitably a member of many. This infinite and personal cross-referencing of social structures is the very heart of the concept of neighbourhood, and has been theorised sufficiently by others, as summarised in the introduction, to obviate any need for repetition. This essence of urban society existed as much within the fifteenth century Bridgehead sample as it has done in any more modern study.

This study has also illuminated another aspect of urban life that, while studied in the early modern and modern periods, has been largely neglected in the fifteenth: the life of the street. Social contacts followed the communication networks of the city, rather than its administrative boundaries, illustrating something of the day-to-day life of the intimately local environment of the street. This is especially clear with regard to the role of taverns and alehouses. The prominence of Hostellers, such as the Whaplodes (referred to repeatedly throughout the thesis), within local communities is made clear by their frequency as witnesses to deeds. Much as it has been shown that taverns were common locations for the contracting of marriages, it is evident that deeds and many business transactions such as bonds, were evidently sealed and witnessed within drinking houses, often involving their proprietors. While this still represents only a small fraction of the local social world, it nonetheless expands our understanding of the day-to-day life of the city.

Returning to the context of previous pre-modern ‘neighbourhood studies’, similarities have emerged with many findings of, for instance Boulton. Whereas, writing of seventeenth century Bankside, Boulton wrote that ‘a substantial minority of households participated actively in the local administration, all householders were caught up in some way or other with the local courts, local officialdom or local bureaucracy’, a similar emphasis on social capital can be detected throughout the fifteenth century Bridgehead.³ It had also been true that a ‘substantial’ minority of householders were active in local bureaucracy, most visibly through the offices of the parish churches, the companies, and also the administrative functions of the city as witnesses for the ward presentments, as well as the more formally elected positions. To confidently claim that all householders were caught up with local officialdom in this fifteenth century sample, would, however, be impossible. While this is in large part attributable to the relative dearth of sources for the fifteenth, relative to

³ Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century*, 268.

seventeenth centuries, it should not be forgotten that the later abundance of sources reflects an absolute increase in local administrative activity, and also in the actual structures that served to generate this social capital. Nonetheless, the individual local Fishmongers' Fellowships operated in a more devolved manner in the earlier fifteenth century, they offered greater potential for accumulation of social capital. Similarly, while churchwardens were the only widely recorded parochial officers before the Reformation, Chapters 6 and 7 have shown that numerous other parishioners were actively involved in the running of the parish. The profusion of positions available within parishes and the Companies could even be seen as having been of a similar magnitude to the more formalised and well-documented offices of the early modern period.

Sample Evaluation

Generally speaking the 'man on the street' will only come into the records as debtor, juror, or as criminal.⁴

In attempting to examine the definition of neighbourhood within the fifteenth century City of London, this thesis has intersected with the lives of over 4000 individuals through hundreds of wills, deeds, and other documents. However, this can only represent a relatively small fraction of those living in the neighbourhood at any one time.

Nonetheless it has been possible to expand the scope of research beyond simply debtors, jurors or criminals. By employing the records not only of central jurisdictions, but those of the City, and especially personal documents of record – such as deeds and wills – it has certainly been possible to view a wider range of situations. Further work on the records of London's, and Westminster's courts, would probably reveal an even greater number of residents of the fifteenth century Bridgehead, yet it is not likely that the social range under examination could be extended significantly further. Especially in the case of wills in the registers of the Commissary Court, and after 1480, Londoners of relatively humble status have been encountered as testators: such as porters, lighter-men and widows with only a few pence to bequeath. Furthermore, amongst the bequests in many wills those of even humbler status appear as recipients of personal gifts, not simply as alms, but presumably as friends and associates. We can, therefore, look out from amongst those of sufficient prosperity to appear amongst the documents of property, and see a relatively healthy proportion of the neighbourhood.

⁴ V.H. Galbraith, *An Introduction to the Use of the Public Records* (Oxford University Press, 1934), 4.

Table 9.1– Comparison of sample size and parish populations.

	St Botolph Billingsgate	St Magnus the Martyr	St Margaret Bridge Street	St Mary at Hill
Communicants 1547	300	535	200	400
Testators 1490-1500	17	36	15	20
Individuals mentioned in wills 1490-1500	100	167	98	152
Positively identified parishioners active in wills 1490-1500	48	92	43	105
Individuals mentioned in deeds 1400-1410	126	285	141	168

Taking numbers of communicant members of the parishes from the 1547 Chantry Certificates as an indication of population size, and allowing for population growth between 1490 and 1547, the summaries of the study sample in Table 9.1 show that a relatively healthy proportion of the local population have been touched upon in this thesis. While numbers of testators are relatively low as a proportion of these population estimates, the numbers of distinct individuals mentioned in them, including those positively identified as parishioners, is much more representative. If, as a rough estimate, for example, we assume St Margaret Bridge Street's 1490 population to have been approximately 25% lower than in 1547, the figure of 43 positively identified parishioners appearing amongst the sampled wills alone is a good proportion – something around 30% through this one crude measure. So, while no claim can be made to have included the totality of the local population within this neighbourhood study, it has certainly been possible to include a respectable proportion of them, through the use of sources that relate to individuals and specific properties within the neighbourhood, and have no direct relationship to population size. Conclusions can therefore be made with a reasonable, if not total, degree of confidence.

Implications

The scope of this thesis was necessarily limited, yet the findings outlined above have implications for the wider understanding of London's history. The development of the City in the early modern period has been seen as both a major juncture, and as distinctive in European terms. A crucial question is how London was able to survive the turmoil of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries without major strife? Having seen that the foundations of the social infrastructure, and mechanisms of social capital, were already well established in the fifteenth century, many of the innovations of the sixteenth century can be seen in context as evolutionary. Naturally, the Companies changed their roles and, as we have seen, their forms, and the church changed dramatically, but the neighbourhood remained a constant. When the occupations of neighbours changed, the social infrastructure of the street, the tavern, and the parish, nevertheless maintained the deep roots of social cohesion.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Sampled Wills

First Name	Last Name	Occupation	Parish	Date of Will			Date Probate			Source Reference
Henry	Yevele	Mason	SMM	25	May	1400	25	Oct	1400	Husting Roll 129(7)
Hugh	Clerk	Clerk (Misc.)	SMM	30	Jan	1401	30	Jan	1401	Commissary Register 2 14v
Adam	Cole [atte Lyon]	Brewer	SBB	8	Jan	1402	30	Apr	1402	Commissary Register 2 18
William	Waddesworth	Grocer	SMBS	7	Feb	1398	18	Oct	1403	Husting Roll 132 (10)
Margaret	Wotton		SMM	5	Feb	1404		Feb	1404	Commissary Register 2 f60
Richard	Miller	Joiner	SBB	21	Aug	1404	21	Aug	1404	Commissary Register 2 f51
Thomas	Palmere (II)	Fishmonger	SMBS	20	Apr	1398	25	Jan	1404	Husting Roll 132 (98)
Thomas	Reygate	Chandler	SBB	1	Jan	1404	25	Feb	1404	PCC Wills PROB 11/2 Marche 8
Thomas	Palmere (II)	Fishmonger	SMBS	20	Jun	1404	5	Jul	1404	Commissary Register 2 f47v
William	Reynewell	Mercer	SBB	6	Jul	1403	3	Jul	1404	PCC Wills PROB 11/2 Marche 5
Gilbert	Aghton	Stockfishmonger	SMM	4	Jun	1403	5	Jul	1405	Archdeaconary (GL MS9051/1) 1 (108)
Johanna	Whaplode	Widow	SMBS	3	Jun	1404	6	May	1405	Husting Roll 133 (65)
John	Colyn	Piebaker	SBB	29	Nov	1405	29	Nov	1405	Commissary Register 2 f71
Margaret	Wotton		SMM	5	Feb	1405	11	May	1405	Husting Roll 133(64)
Mazera	Aghton	Widow	SMM	16	Mar	1404	19	Jan	1405	Husting Roll 133 (13)
Mazera	Aghton	Widow	SMM	16	Mar	1404	1	Apr	1405	Archdeaconary 1(137v)
Walter	Kyk	Fishmonger	SMBS	6	Mar	1405	6	Apr	1405	Commissary Register 2 f62
Henry	Whitewelle	Stockfishmonger	SMM	27	Oct	1405	14	Jun	1406	Husting 133(71)
Thomas	Overton	Rector	SMM	2	Jan	1406	12	Mar	1406	PCC Wills PROB 11/2 Marche 13
William	Brampton	Stockfishmonger	SMM	4	Jun	1405	30	Apr	1406	PCC Wills PROB 11/2 Marche 12
John	Reymond	Fishmonger	SMBS	4	Mar	1407	9	Mar	1407	Commissary Register 2 f85v
Matthew	Gryce	Waterman	SMH	30	May	1407	30	May	1407	Commissary Register 2 f99v
Michael	Cobolt	Cobbler	SMH	7	Feb	1407	7	Feb	1407	Commissary Register 2 112
Thomas	Fulham		SMM	5	Nov	1406	25	Jan	1407	PCC Wills PROB 11/2 Marche 15
William	Brampton	Stockfishmonger	SMM	5	Jun	1405	22	Feb	1407	Husting Roll 134 (54)
John	Ridere	Fishmonger	SMH	2	Apr	1408	2	May	1408	Commissary Register 2 f118

First Name	Last Name	Occupation	Parish	Date of Will			Date Probate			Source Reference
Roger	Wade	Fishmonger	SBB	4	Oct	1407	25	Jun	1408	Commissary Register 2 125
Thomas	Fulham		SMM	5	Nov	1406	26	Mar	1408	Husting Roll 135(87)
Richard	Southous		SMH	17	May	1409	9	Jun	1409	Commissary Register 2 f152
Thomas	Parker		SMH	2	Sep	1409	2	Sep	1409	Commissary Register 2 f156
John	Sawyer	Fishmonger	SMM	20	Sep	1410	18	Nov	1410	PCC Wills PROB 11/2 Marche 22
Katherine	Yevele	Widow	SMM	23	Dec	1409	18	Jan	1410	PCC Wills PROB 11/2 Marche 20
Richard	Toky	Fishmonger	SMM	9	Mar	1410	1	Apr	1410	Archdeaconary 1 (226v)
Thomas	Sclade	Brewer	SBB	31	Mar	1410	31	Mar	1410	Commissary Register 2 f168
Gerard	van Therheyth		SMH	7	May	1411	7	May	1411	Commissary Register 2 f198v
John	Olney	Mercer	SMH	25	Jan	1411	2	Mar	1411	Husting Roll 138(56)
Matilda	Bray	Widow	SMM	27	Jul	1411	18	Oct	1411	Commissary Register 2 206v
Walter	Plogge		SMH			1411	4	Sep	1411	Commissary Register 2 f206
Agnes	Marshall	Widow	SMH			1412	1	Jun	1412	Commissary Register 2 f223
John	Wolde	Rector	SBB	7	Sep	1412	14	Nov	1412	PCC Wills PROB 11/2 Marche 25
John	Hyde	Cutler	SMM	12	Mar	1411	1	Apr	1412	Commissary Register 2 f219v
Richard	Wynter	Stockfishmonger	SMM	5	Sep	1412	29	Dec	1412	Commissary Register 2 f234v-235v
John	Hert	Haberdasher	SMM	11	May	1413	15	Jun	1413	Commissary Register 2 f249
John	More	Brewer	SMM	18	Sep	1413	6	Oct	1413	Commissary Register 2 f264
Richard	Wynter	Stockfishmonger	SMM	5	Sep	1412	6	Feb	1413	Husting Roll 140 (53)
Richard	Tyrell [Tirell]		SMH	1	Sep	1413	9	Oct	1413	Commissary Register 2 f266v
Thomas	Pencrych		SMM	13	Nov	1412	11	Sep	1413	Commissary Register 2 f257
Alice	Bridge	Widow	SMBS			1414	2	Sep	1414	Commissary Register 2 295v
Guy	Quartermayn	Goldsmith	SMM	27	Apr	1414	28	Apr	1414	Commissary Register 2 f280v
John	More	Brewer	SMM	18	Sep	1413	12	Mar	1414	Husting Roll 141(100)
John	Staundon	Chaplain	SMM	24	Apr	1414	24	Apr	1414	Commissary Register 2 f280
Richard	Blak	Joiner	SMM	1	May	1414	1	May	1414	Commissary Register 2 280
Michael	Mordon	Haberdasher	SMM	2	Jul	1415		Jul	1415	Commissary Register 2 f311
Roger	Crouche	Stockfishmonger	SMM	4	Oct	1414		Mar	1415	Commissary Register 2 f328v
John	Blofeld	Stockfishmonger	SMM	8	Nov	1416		Nov	1416	Commissary Register 2 354v

First Name	Last Name	Occupation	Parish	Date of Will			Date Probate			Source Reference
Maud	Chambre		SMH	16	Jul	1417	31	Jul	1417	PCC Wills PROB 11/2 Marche 38
Nicholas	Aghton	Stockfishmonger	SMM	4	Jun	1415	22	Mar	1417	Husting Roll 145(2)
Robert	Hurlebat	Stockfishmonger	SMM	7	Apr	1417	12	Apr	1417	Commissary Register 2 f391v
Roger	Crouche	Stockfishmonger	SMM	24	Oct	1414	19	Jan	1417	Husting Roll 144 (58)
Thomas	Bolde	Glover	SMM	6	Feb	1416			1417	Commissary Register 2 358
Walter	Shipton	Draper	SMM	27	Mar	1417		May	1417	Commissary Register 2 f363v
Nicholas	Aghton	Stockfishmonger	SMM	4	Jun	1415	4	Apr	1418	Commissary Register 2 312
Thomas	Brownynng	Fishmonger	SMBS	14	Jul	1418			1418	PCC Wills PROB 11/2 Marche 41
Thomas	Morys	Grocer	SMM	4	Oct	1418			1418	Commissary Register 3 f18
John	Profyt	Fishmonger	SMBS	30	Jan	1415	19	May	1419	PCC Wills PROB 11/2 Marche 33
Katherine	Blake	Widow	SMM	2	Dec	1418	14	Jul	1419	Commissary Register 3 f28v
Thomas	Vale		SMH	1	Apr	1418	16	Dec	1419	PCC Wills PROB 11/2 Marche 41
Thomas	Atherston	Rector	SMH		Jul	1419		Jul	1419	Commissary Register 3 f31v
Thomas	Hogge	Waterman	SMH		Jul	1419		Jul	1419	Commissary Register 3 f31
William	Durant		SMBS	21	Apr	1419	21	Apr	1419	Commissary Register 3 f26
William	Hor	Horner	SMM	28	Jan	1414			1419	Commissary Register 3 f43
William	Moger	Girdler	SMM	2	Sep	1417	29	Jul	1419	Commissary Register 3 f32
William	Middilton	Grocer	SMBS	20	Nov	1419	25	Jan	1422	Husting Roll 149 (53)
William	Neel	Vintner	SBB	10	Aug	1418	19	Jan	1422	Husting Roll 149 (45)
John	Weston	Ironmonger	SMH	18	Jul	1407	5	May	1427	Husting Roll 155(52)
Robert	Whaplode	Hosteller	SMBS	11	Aug	1428	6	Oct	1430	Husting Roll 159 (13)
John	Passelew	Priest	SMM	23	Sep	1440	23	Sep	1440	Commissary Register 4 f50
Margaret	Langrych	Widow	SMBS	14	Jun	1437	22	May	1440	Commissary Register 4 f43v
Richard	Coffe	Chaplain	SMM	7	Apr	1440	30	Apr	1440	Commissary Register 4 f42
Joan	Fishlake	Widow	SMH	1	Mar	1441	7	Mar	1441	Commissary Register 4 f80v
Thomas	Dursle	Fishmonger	SMBS	17	Sep	1438	18	Sep	1441	Commissary Register 4 f68, 68v, 70v,71
William	Clerk	Cutler	SMM	20	Dec	1441	20	Dec	1441	Commissary Register 4 f74v
Adam	Whitteford	Chaplain	SMBS	16	Feb	1442	16	Feb	1442	Commissary Register 4 f77v

First Name	Last Name	Occupation	Parish	Date of Will			Date Probate			Source Reference
Alice	Seynt John	Widow	SMM	15	Sep	1442	22	Sep	1442	Commissary Register 4 f95v
Andrew	Hunt	Girdler	SMM	28	Sep	1440	28	May	1442	Husting Roll 170(50)
James	Lubertson	Cobbler	SMH	4	Aug	1442	8	Aug	1442	Commissary Register 4 f90v
John	Perveys	Fishmonger	SMBS	25	Mar	1434	31	May	1442	Husting Roll 170 (51)
John	Wyscard		SMM	4	Jun	1442	24	Jun	1442	Commissary Register 4 f87
Laurence	Parham	Fishmonger	SMM	29	Aug	1442	4	Dec	1442	Commissary Register 4 f106
Richard	Cullyng	Fishmonger	SMBS	6	May	1442	21	Jun	1442	Commissary Register 4 f86v
Robert	Schelle	Draper	SBB	16	Sep	1442	22	Sep	1442	Commissary Register 4 f95
Thomas	Dursle	Fishmonger	SMBS	10	Mar	1428	13	Jan	1442	Husting Roll 170 (40)
Thomas	Dursle	Fishmonger	SMBS	27	Sep	1438	13	Jan	1442	Husting Roll 170 (41)
Thomas	Haynes	Fishmonger	SMBS	1	Aug	1442	22	Sep	1442	Commissary Register 4 f95v
Thomas	Kyng	Haberdasher	SMM	13	May	1440	4	Oct	1442	Commissary Register 4 f96v
John	Churchman	Parish Clerk	SBB	30	Jan	1443			1443	Commissary Register 4 f112v
John	Huntyngdon		SMH	18	Sep	1443	18	Sep	1443	Commissary Register 4 f123v
Richard	Felaw		SMM	18	Jul	1443	18	Jul	1443	Commissary Register 4 f123
John	Michell	Stockfishmonger	SMM	5	Jan	1441	26	Feb	1444	PCC Wills PROB 11/3 Luffenam 29
John	Howdon		SMH	12	Sep	1444	20	Sep	1444	Commissary Register 4 f147v
Thomas	Copeland (d.1444)	Girdler	SMM	7	Oct	1444	7	Oct	1444	Commissary Register 4 f152
Thomas	Badby	Fishmonger	SMBS	5	Aug	1445	20	Aug	1445	Commissary Register 4 f169v
Andrew	Hunte	Haberdasher	SMM	20	Jul	1440	9	May	1446	Husting Roll 174(27)
Edmund	Hale	Grocer	SMM	17	Jul	1446	28	Jul	1446	PCC Wills PROB 11/3 Luffenam 31
Henry	Haunsard		SMBS	26	Aug	1446	17	Sep	1446	PCC Wills PROB 11/3 Luffenam 31
John	Beket	Stockfishmonger	SBB	14	Jun	1443	2	Sep	1447	PCC Wills PROB 11/3 Luffenam 28
Margaret	Shedde	Widow	SMH	20	Nov	1446	12	Jan	1447	Commissary Register 4 f203v
Thomas	Whyte	Ironmonger	SMH	22	Sep	1446	3	Oct	1447	Commissary Register 4 f220Bv
William	Whyte		SBB	22	Feb	1447	10	Mar	1447	Commissary Register 4 f205v
John	Folbery	Haberdasher	SBB	1	Dec	1445	26	Feb	1448	Commissary Register 4 f227
John	Knotte	Tailor	SBB	5	Dec	1447	1	Feb	1448	Commissary Register 4 f227

First Name	Last Name	Occupation	Parish	Date of Will			Date Probate			Source Reference
Otto	Henrykeson	Merchant (unspec.)	SMH	23	Jan	1448	25	Jan	1448	Commissary Register 4 f226
Peter	Williamson	Mason	SMH	26	Sep	1448	1	Oct	1448	Commissary Register 4 f243v
Roger	Hodeliston	Glover	SMM	1	May	1448	27	Sep	1448	Commissary Register 4 f243
Edward	Dymmok	Baker	SMH	3	Feb	1447	21	Aug	1449	Commissary Register 4 f258
Thomas	Arnold	Girdler	SMM	5	Dec	1448	13	Jan	1449	Commissary Register 4 f252v
Peter	Welles		SBB	1	Jun	1450	15	Jun	1450	PCC Wills PROB 11/1 Rous 12
Richard	Warbulton	Ironmonger	SMH	4	Mar	1447	10	Mar	1450	PCC Wills PROB 11/1 Rous 12
William	Rydere	Fishmonger	SMH	14	Sep	1449	4	Jun	1450	PCC Wills PROB 11/3 Luffenam 32
John	Hiccheman	Tailor	SMH	20	Mar	1451	20	May	1451	PCC Wills PROB 11/1 Rous 16
Robert	Rauff	Fruitier	SMH	21	Mar	1451	8	Dec	1451	Commissary Register 5 f32
Thomas	Symmes	Weaver	SMM	11	Dec	1451		Dec	1451	Commissary Register 5 f37v
Geoffrey	Broun		SMM	19	Aug	1452	21	Aug	1452	Commissary Register 5 f62
John	Lightfote		SMM	7	Sep	1452			1452	Commissary Register 5 f70v
John	Riche	Chaplain	SMM	9	Nov	1452			1452	Commissary Register 5 f76v
Richard	Newman	Stockfishmonger	SMM	1	Aug	1452	4	Sep	1452	Commissary Register 5 f65
William	Croucher	Mercer	SMBS	11	Aug	1452			1452	PCC Wills PROB 11/1 Rous 17
William	Martyn	Chaplain	SMM	20	Aug	1452	6	Sep	1452	Commissary Register 5 f66
John	Frere	Hosteller	SMH	17	Sep	1444	15	Oct	1453	Commissary Register 5 f118
John	Tylle	Grocer	SMM	31	Oct	1453	23	Nov	1453	Commissary Register 5 f119
Thomas	Dunham	Fishmonger	SMBS	30	Dec	1452	14	Feb	1453	Commissary Register 5 f81v
William	Brambyll	Ironmonger	SMH	2	Mar	1453	20	Apr	1453	Commissary Register 5 f90
Edward	Gisors	Mercer	SMH	12	Mar	1454			1454	DC Deeds A VIII 87
Helen	Warbulton	Widow	SMH	9	Sep	1454	5	Nov	1454	PCC Wills PROB 11/4 Stockton 1
Thomas	Haunsard	Vintner	SMBS	8	Mar	1454	30	Jul	1454	PCC Wills PROB 11/4 Rous 10
William	Ederyth	Haberdasher	SBB	20	Oct	1454	28	Oct	1454	PCC Wills PROB 11/4 Stockton 1
William	Baker	Pewterer	SMH	30	Jun	1453	10	Jan	1454	Commissary Register 5 f78v
William	Riche	Brewer	SMH	2	Dec	1453	30	Apr	1454	Commissary Register 5 f127v
William	Wedyr		SBB			1454	21	Aug	1454	Commissary Register 5 f135

First Name	Last Name	Occupation	Parish	Date of Will			Date Probate			Source Reference
Alice	Holford	Widow	SMM	8	May	1455	6	Aug	1455	Commissary Register 5 f166
John	Boydon	Cutler	SMM	4	Oct	1455	16	Oct	1455	Commissary Register 5 f169
John	Palmer	Haberdasher	SMM	4	Feb	1455	4	Feb	1455	Commissary Register 5 f181
John	Whiteby		SMH	6	Oct	1455	18	Nov	1455	Commissary Register 5 f173
Margaret	Michell		SMM	2	Apr	1452	2	Apr	1455	PCC Wills PROB 11/4 Stockton 3
Richard	Malt	Stockfishmonger	SMM	19	May	1455	14	Jun	1455	PCC Wills PROB 11/4 Stockton 3
Thomas	Whisshetir	Parish Clerk	SMH	1	Jul	1455	1	Jul	1455	Commissary Register 5 f163v
Hugh	Wortley	Mason	SMH	14	Sep	1456	20	Oct	1456	Commissary Register 5 f207v
Mawde	Hicheman	Widow	SMH	31	Sep	1456	18	Oct	1456	Commissary Register 5 f229
Richard	Malt	Stockfishmonger	SMM	24	May	1455	14	Jun	1456	Husting Roll 184(10)
Thomas	Gybbes	Grocer	SMM	1	Apr	1456	7	Jun	1456	PCC Wills PROB 11/4 Stockton 7
Joan	Palmer	Widow	SMM	22	Dec	1457	27	Dec	1457	Commissary Register 5 f217v
Nicholas	Balke	Haberdasher	SMM	17	Sep	1457	10	Oct	1457	Commissary Register 5 f228v
Richard	Otehill	Fletcher	SMM	31	Dec	1457	5	Jan	1457	Commissary Register 5 f198
Thomas	Crouche[r]	Fishmonger	SMBS	11	Sep	1457	19	Oct	1457	PCC Wills PROB 11/4 Stockton 8
Agnes	Baker	Widow	SMH	24	Aug	1458	25	Aug	1458	Commissary Register 5 f252v
Alice	Riche	Widow	SMH	28	Jun	1458	30	Jul	1458	Commissary Register 5 f250
John	Yerdley	Tailor	SMH	27	Aug	1457	10	Apr	1458	Commissary Register 5 f242v
Katherine	Carpenter	Widow	SPCH	30	Mar	1457	5	Jun	1458	Husting Roll 186(36)
Matilda	Rose	Widow	SMM	16	Nov	1458			1458	Commissary Register 5 f264v
Roger	Kelsey	Draper	SMH	26	Mar	1455	15	May	1458	Husting Roll 186(29)
Stephen	Forster	Merchant (unspec.)	SBB	4	Dec	1458	27	Dec	1458	PCC Wills PROB 11/4 Stockton 15
William	Canynge(snr)		SBB	8	Jul	1458	20	Nov	1458	PCC Wills PROB 11/4 Stockton 14
William	Morys	Stockfishmonger	SMH	17	Mar	1458	11	Apr	1458	Commissary Register 5 f242v
William	Rose (grocer)	Grocer	SBB	30	Mar	1458	7	Jun	1458	Commissary Register 5 f247
Joan	Forde	Widow	SMBS	11	Jul	1459	28	Aug	1459	Commissary Register 5 f281v
John	Newark	Ironmonger	SMH	19	Sep	1459			1459	Commissary Register 5 f287
John	Saltby	Ironmonger	SMH	24	Nov	1459	1	Dec	1459	Commissary Register 5 f288v

First Name	Last Name	Occupation	Parish	Date of Will			Date Probate			Source Reference
John	Worlyche (jnr)	Salter	SMBS	11	Oct	1458	20	Sep	1459	Commissary Register 5 f284
Richard	Hylle	Haberdasher	SMM	7	Jul	1459			1459	PCC Wills PROB 11/4 Stockton 18
William	Cobbe	Fishmonger	SMM	5	Apr	1459	21	Jun	1459	PCC Wills PROB 11/4 Stockton 18
John	Longe	Cooper	SBB	20	Sep	1460	1	Oct	1460	PCC Wills PROB 11/4 Stockton 20
Richard	Broughton	Stockfishmonger	SMM	6	Aug	1447	20	Apr	1460	Commissary Register 5 f293v
William	Laurence	Stockfishmonger	SMM	17	Mar	1459	31	Mar	1460	Commissary Register 5 f295
William	West	Marbler	SMBS	12	Nov	1447	16	Jan	1464	Husting Roll 193(33)
John	Reynewell	Ironmonger	SBB	25	Oct	1458	2	Mar	1478	Husting Roll 207 (31)
William	Stafford	Vintner	SBB	25	Oct	1458	2	Mar	1478	Husting Roll 207 (31)
Nicholas	Vavesour	Brasier	SMH	9	Dec	1479			1479	Commissary Register 6 f306
Alice	Baker	Widow	SBB	9	Feb	1480	24	Feb	1480	Commissary Register 6 f285v
Anneys	Brews	Widow	SMM	19	Aug	1480	20	Nov	1480	PCC Wills PROB 11/7 Logge 1
Isabell	Freecok	Widow	SMM	31	Dec	1479	10	Apr	1480	Commissary Register 6 f291
John	Cralle	Priest	SMM	8	Dec	1479	10	May	1480	PCC Wills PROB 11/7 Logge 13
John	Doughtes	Stainer	SMBS	23	Mar	1480	12	Apr	1480	Commissary Register 6 f294
Richard	Whaplode	Fishmonger	SMBS	5	Mar	1480	2	Oct	1480	Commissary Register 6 f308v
William	Stafford	Vintner	SBB	30	Dec	1458	9	Oct	1480	Hustings Roll 210 (15)
William	Turke	Fishmonger	SMBS	10	Nov	1480	2	Sep	1480	Commissary Register 6 f300v
John	Kyppyng	Grocer	SMBS	25	Jun	1479	18	Jun	1481	PCC Wills PROB 11/7 Logge 3
John	Catell	Vintner	SMM	29	Sep	1481			1481	PCC Wills PROB 11/7 Logge 13
Richard	Swallow	Barber	SMM	9	Oct	1481	6	Nov	1481	Commissary Register 6 f326
William	Stafford	Vintner	SBB	20	Aug	1456	19	Mar	1481	Husting Roll 211 (1)
Roger	Wellys	Gentleman	SMH	7	Aug	1482	3	Oct	1482	Commissary Register 6 f335
William	Cobbe	Brewer	SMM	15	Jun	1482	5	Jul	1482	Commissary Register 6 f332v
Elizabeth	Bowell	Widow	SMH	19	Jul	1483			1483	Commissary Register 6 f352
Alice	Wright	Widow	SMBS	28	Oct	1483	6	Nov	1484	Husting Roll 214 (18)
Alice	Wright	Widow	SMBS	27	Oct	1483	31	Jul	1484	Commissary Register 7 f6
Elizabeth	Keyes	Widow	SMM	11	Dec	1483	20	Jan	1484	Commissary Register 6 f362v
Joan	Enfeld	Widow	SMM	24	Feb	1484	1	Apr	1484	Commissary Register 7 f9v

First Name	Last Name	Occupation	Parish	Date of Will			Date Probate			Source Reference
John	Toby	Haberdasher	SBB	16	Mar	1484	10	Mar	1484	Commissary Register 6 f373
John	Towker	Cutler	SMM	1	Mar	1484	29	Mar	1484	Commissary Register 7 f10
Nicholas	Starismore	Tallow Chandler	SMH	29	Aug	1484	6	Sep	1484	Commissary Register 7 f8v
Richard	Gybson	Goldsmith	SMM	13	Mar	1483	29	Mar	1484	Commissary Register 7 f8v
Stephen	Chirche	Stockfishmonger	SMM	8	May	1484	30	Oct	1484	PCC Wills PROB 11/7 Logge 9
John	Paris	Pewterer	SBB	14	Apr	1485	11	May	1485	PCC Wills PROB 11/7 Logge 20
John	Baker	Grocer	SMH	26	Sep	1485	15	Oct	1485	PCC Wills PROB 11/7 Logge 14
John	Rypon	Mercer	SMM	24	Sep	1485			1485	PCC Wills PROB 11/7 Logge 14
Katherine	Mason	Widow	SMBS	5	Aug	1485	12	Aug	1485	PCC Wills PROB 11/7 Logge 16
Philip	Darneton	Fishmonger	SMM	23	Sep	1485	14	Oct	1485	PCC Wills PROB 11/7 Logge 16
Richard	Rede	Grocer	SMBS	10	Dec	1484	16	Feb	1485	PCC Wills PROB 11/7 Logge 21
Robert	Goldfynch		SMM	29	Sep	1485	27	Oct	1485	Commissary Register 7 f32v
Robert	Stafferton	Grocer	SMH	24	Sep	1485	2	Oct	1485	Commissary Register 7 f38
Stephen	Long	Fishmonger	SMM	25	Sep	1485	14	Oct	1485	PCC Wills PROB 11/7 Logge 16
Thomas	Breteyn	Ironmonger	SMH	22	Sep	1485	15	Nov	1485	PCC Wills PROB 11/7 Logge 15
Thomas	Goldwell	Fishmonger	SMBS	23	Jul	1485	14	Oct	1485	PCC Wills PROB 11/7 Logge 16
Agnes	Lytton		SBB	25	Feb	1486	27	Apr	1486	PCC Wills PROB 11/7 Logge 23
Edmund	Newman	Stockfishmonger	SMM	6	Mar	1486	21	Jul	1486	PCC Wills PROB 11/7 Logge 25
Henry	Madder	Priest	SMBS	22	Apr	1486	10	May	1486	PCC Wills PROB 11/7 Logge 23
Henry	Crane	Fletcher	SMM	18	Jul	1486	4	Aug	1486	PCC Wills PROB 11/7 Logge 25
John	Hammond		SMM	10	Feb	1486	12	Feb	1486	PCC Wills PROB 11/8 Milles 1
Richard	Wodelake	Haberdasher	SMM	7	Sep	1486	1	Sep	1486	Commissary Register 7 f55
Roger	Worth	Glover	SMBS	16	Dec	1485	20	Jan	1486	Commissary Register 7 f12
Thomas	Moldeson	Goldsmith	SMM	25	Oct	1485	9	May	1486	PCC Wills PROB 11/7 Logge 23
Alice	Wodelake	Widow	SMM	22	Jul	1486	4	Jul	1487	Commissary Register 7 f87
Johanne	Payne-Childe-Kerville	Widow	SPCH	25	Feb	1487	27	May	1487	PCC Wills PROB 11/7 attys 11
John	Lute		SBB			1487			1487	PCC Wills PROB 11/8 Milles 3
John	Gardynier	Tailor	SMBS	17	Mar	1487			1487	PCC Wills PROB 11/8 Milles 2

First Name	Last Name	Occupation	Parish	Date of Will			Date Probate			Source Reference
John	Clerke	Salter	SMH	1	Mar	1486	20	Sep	1487	Commissary Register 7 f93v
John	Murton	Stockfishmonger	SMM	18	Aug	1487	2	Dec	1487	Commissary Register 7 f104
Richard	Johnson	Priest	SBB	5	Oct	1486	31	Jan	1487	Commissary Register 7 f66v
David	Clark	Cornmeter	SBB	13	Oct	1487	3	Mar	1488	Commissary Register 7 f111
Elizabeth	Beaufitz	Widow	SMM	26	Mar	1488	2	Sep	1488	Commissary Register 7 f129v
German	Manfeld		SMM	31	Aug	1488	25	Oct	1488	PCC Wills PROB 11/8 Milles 17
Hugh	Overey	Stockfishmonger	SMM	10	May	1488	10	Jul	1488	PCC Wills PROB 11/8 Milles 11
John	Develyn		SMH	16	Jun	1488	19	Jun	1488	PCC Wills PROB 11/8 Milles 14
Robert	Swayn	Fishmonger	SMBS	9	Jun	1488	17	Jun	1488	Commissary Register 7 f127v
Thomas	Saymor	Grocer	SMH	18	Jul	1488	30	Jul	1488	PCC Wills PROB 11/8 Milles 11
Agnes	Tere	Widow	SMM	24	Sep	1489	2	Oct	1489	Commissary Register 7 f152v
Henry	Smyth	Stockfishmonger	SMM	8	Dec	1489	20	Jan	1490	PCC Wills PROB 11/8 Milles 30
Robert	Ryvell	Grocer	SMH	18	Feb	1490	1	Mar	1490	PCC Wills PROB 11/8 Milles 44
Robert	Hithe		SMBS	30	Nov	1490			1490	Commissary Register 8 f18v
Thomas	Masse	Scrivener	SMBS	1	Jan	1490			1490	Commissary Register 8 f4
William	Dobbis	Grocer	SBB	18	Sep	1490	27	Sep	1490	Commissary Register 7 f154
William	Store	Cutler	SMM	12	Nov	1490	3	Dec	1490	Commissary Register 8 f17v
Dame Alice	Rawlyn	Widow	SBB	1	May	1491			1491	PCC Wills PROB 11/9 Dogett 3
Elizabeth	Swayne	Widow	SMBS	15	Sep	1491	30	Sep	1491	Commissary Register 8 f25v
James	Walker	Barber	SMH	30	Oct	1491	12	Nov	1491	PCC Wills PROB 11/9 Dogett 11
John	Sparrowe	Grocer	SBB	8	Sep	1491	14	Oct	1491	PCC Wills PROB 11/9 Dogett 1
John	Gisors [Gysors]		SMH	2	Apr	1491	9	Apr	1491	Commissary Register 8 f19
Margery	Robynson		SMBS	2	Aug	1491	17	Sep	1491	PCC Wills PROB 11/9 Dogett 6
Richard	Bodley		SBB	27	Oct	1491			1491	PCC Wills PROB 11/9 Dogett 1
Sir John	Philip	Priest	SMH	9	Jul	1491	27	Jul	1491	Commissary Register 8 f24
Thomas	Robynson	Fishmonger	SMBS	7	Nov	1491	22	Nov	1491	PCC Wills PROB 11/8 Milles 36
John	Goderyche	Grocer	SMM	15	Jul	1492	29	Jan	1492	PCC Wills PROB 11/9 Dogett 21
Thomas	Barbour		SMM	14	Nov	1492	20	Nov	1492	Commissary Register 8 f44v
William	Bacoun	Haberdasher	SBB	29	Oct	1492	1	Dec	1492	PCC Wills PROB 11/9 Dogett 10

First Name	Last Name	Occupation	Parish	Date of Will			Date Probate			Source Reference
Johanne	Broughton-Feld	Widow	SMM	8	Aug	1492	7	Jun	1493	PCC Wills PROB 11/9 Dogett 27
Thomas	Bodley		SBB	27	Nov	1491	1	Aug	1493	PCC Wills PROB 11/9 Dogett 27
Henry	Kellow	Tailor	SMH	11	Dec	1494	9	Jan	1494	PCC Wills PROB 11/10 Vox 22
Johanne	Rede		SMBS			1494			1494	Commissary Register 8 f75
John	Smert	Grocer	SMH	20	Jun	1494	18	Mar	1494	PCC Wills PROB 11/10 Vox 21
John	Gyse	Merchant (unspec.)	SBB	19	Aug	1494	30	Aug	1494	Commissary Register 8 f79
Margery	Catell	Widow	SMM	23	Feb	1494	1	May	1494	PCC Wills PROB 11/10 Vox 10
Pernella[?]	Smyth	Widow	SBB	20	Sep	1494	9	Oct	1494	Commissary Register 8 f81v
Peter	Scot	Glover	SMM	27	May	1494	2	Sep	1494	Commissary Register 8 f78v
Robert	Holmeby	Fletcher	SMM	3	Jul	1494	2	Nov	1494	PCC Wills PROB 11/10 Vox 14
William	Grey	Tailor	SMH	1	Oct	1493	13	Jan	1494	Commissary Register 8 f67v
John	Ostwike	Priest	SMM	4	May	1495	15	Dec	1495	PCC Wills PROB 11/10 Vox 29
Katheryn	Clerke		SMBS	18	Sep	1495	9	Oct	1495	PCC Wills PROB 11/10 Vox 26
Sir Richard	Segrym	Priest	SBB	5	Jan	1495	21	Jan	1495	Commissary Register 8 f85v
William	Maunfelde	Cheesemonger	SMH	18	May	1495	28	Jun	1495	Commissary Register 8 f97v
Hugh	Hunt	Gentleman	SMBS	7	Jun	1496			1496	Commissary Register 8 f128v
John	Marsham	Salter	SBB	20	Jul	1496		Sep	1496	PCC Wills PROB 11/10 Vox 33
Roger	Middleton	Wax Chandler	SMM	14	Aug	1496	11	Nov	1496	PCC Wills PROB 11/11 Horne 4
William	Prune	Tallow Chandler	SMH	6	Aug	1496	16	Dec	1496	PCC Wills PROB 11/11 Horne 3
William	Oppy	Brewer	SMM	2	Sep	1496	11	Sep	1496	PCC Wills PROB 11/11 Horne 1
Henry	Marshe	Stainer	SMH	11	Oct	1497			1497	Commissary Register 8 f229
Robert	Mylne	Fishmonger	SMBS	7	Sep	1496	13	Jan	1497	Commissary Register 8 f107v
Thomas	Ryvell	Grocer	SMH	17	Mar	1497	3	Jun	1497	PCC Wills PROB 11/11 Horne 12
William	Overey	Merchant (unspec.)	SMH	7	Mar	1496	3	May	1497	PCC Wills PROB 11/11 Horne 6
William	Garolde	Stockfishmonger	SMBS	17	Dec	1496	1	Nov	1497	PCC Wills PROB 11/11 Horne 15
William	Alye	Bowyer	SMM	5	Sep	1497			1497	Commissary Register 8 f122v
Alice	Scotte	Widow	SMM	31	Jul	1497	21	May	1498	PCC Wills PROB 11/11 Horne 23

First Name	Last Name	Occupation	Parish	Date of Will			Date Probate			Source Reference
Robert	Seton		SMM	3	Aug	1498	24	Sep	1498	PCC Wills PROB 11/11 Horne 24
Thomas	Morten	Bowyer	SMM	2	Apr	1498	11	May	1498	PCC Wills PROB 11/11 Horne 23
Thomas	Petite [Petyt]	Tailor	SMM	16	Feb	1498	25	Mar	1498	PCC Wills PROB 11/11 Horne 20
William	Bowyer		SMM	8	Jul	1498	30	Jul	1498	Commissary Register 8 f185v
John	Burton	Clerk (Misc.)	SMBS	21	Dec	1498	22	Jun	1499	PCC Wills PROB 11/11 Horne 37
John	Weste	Fishmonger	SMBS	7	Aug	1499	14	Nov	1499	PCC Wills PROB 11/11 Horne 39
Margaret	Ebmede	Widow	SMM	27	May	1499	7	Aug	1499	Commissary Register 8 f180
Roger	Smallwode	Plumber	SBB	23	Feb	1497	14	Nov	1499	PCC Wills PROB 11/11 Horne 39
Thomas	Bonde	Brewer	SMM	5	Sep	1499	23	Sep	1499	Commissary Register 8 f180v
Hugh	Saunderson	Bowyer	SMM	16	Sep	1500			1500	Commissary Register 8 f217v
James	Rushton	Haberdasher	SMM	23	Jan	1500	9	Mar	1500	PCC Wills PROB 11/12 Moone 20
John	Mascall	Grocer	SMH	1	Jun	1498	11	Oct	1500	PCC Wills PROB 11/12 Moone 19
John	Ebyns	Chaplain	SMM	7	Oct	1500			1500	Commissary Register 8 f244
Richard	Clerk	Bowyer	SMM	12	Oct	1500	6	Nov	1500	PCC Wills PROB 11/12 Moone 17
Richard	Hudgrave	Tailor	SMM	2	Nov	1500			1500	Commissary Register 8 f223v
Thomas	Portar	Shoemaker	SMBS	26	Mar	1500			1500	Commissary Register 8 f199v
William	Hall	Salter	SMH	7	Mar	1499			1500	Commissary Register 8 f208
William	Marowe	Grocer	SBB	26	Feb	1499	17	Jun	1504	Husting Roll 230(11)

Appendix 2: Rentals

Rental Portfolio of the Parish of St Mary at Hill

Compiled from rental accounts contained within the churchwardens accounts.

Property	1477	1479	1483	1485	1487	...	1493
Weston's Chantry (1483 - Church)							
Tenement SMH	£4		£4				
Rent of a tenement SMH	33s 4d		33s 4d				
Rent of a tenement SMH	53s 4d		53s 4d				
Rent of a tenement	10s						
Rent of a tenement	12s						
Rent of a tenement	9s		9s				
Rent of a tenement SMH	20s		20s				
Rent of a chamber	8s		12s				
Rent of a chamber by churchyard	8s		8s				
Tenement in St Leonards	26s 8d		26s 8d	26s 8d			
Tenement and garden Towerhill St Botolph	20s		20s	20s			
Quit rent from tenement SMH - corner house	3s 4d		3s 4d	4s 4d			
Quitrent SBB	2s 6d		2s 6d	2s 6d			
TOTAL	£14 16s 2d	£14 16s 2d			£15 11s 6d	£15 11s 6d	£15 15s 6d
John Causton's Chantry							
Rent of a tenement SMH - Thames St	£4 13s 4d		£4 13s 4d	£4 13s 4d			
Rent of a tenement SMH	20s		20s				
Rent of a tenement SMH	20s		20s				
Rent of a tenement SMH	20s	20s	20s				

Property	1477	1479	1483	1485	1487	...	1493
2 Tenements in St Andrew Eastcheap	38s		40s	40s			
Tenement St Botolph Aldgate (lytell house)	8s		8s	8s			
2 Tenements St Botolph Aldgate	16s 8d		8s	8s			
			8s	8s			
Garden St Botolph Aldgate	4s		4s	4s			
Garden St Botolph Aldgate	12s 4d		13s 4d	13s 4d			
Garden St Botolph Aldgate	4d		4s 6d	4s			
Garden St Botolph Aldgate	5s 4d		3s + 2s 8d	3s			
				2s 8d			
Tenement Gracechurch street	£6		£6	£6			
TOTAL	£18 20d	£18 20d			£18 4s 4d	£18 4s 4d	£18 4s 4d
Richard Gosselyne's Chantry							
Fair House St Leonard Vaster Lane	£3		46s 8d	46s 8s			
Tenement St Leonard Vaster Lane	40s		40s	40s			
Tenement St Leonard Vaster Lane	20s		20s	20s			
Tenement St Leonard Vaster Lane	16s		16s	26s			
Tenement St Leonard Vaster Lane	18s		18s	13s 4d			
Tenement St Leonard Vaster Lane	26s 8d		18s	26s 8d			
	8d			13s 4d			
TOTAL	£9 18s 8d	£9 18s 8d		£8 16s	£8 16s	£8 16s	£8 12s 4d
John Bedeham's Chantry							
Lombard's Place St Bot. Lane, St George E	£13 6s 8d	£13 6s 8d	£13 6s 8d	£13 6s 8d	£13 6s 8d	£13 6s 8d	£13 6s 8d
William Cambridge's Chantry							
Tenement parish St Christopher	£10	£10	£10	£6			
A house, the Stokkes				53s 4d			
A house, the Stokkes				26s 8d			
Total	£10	£10	£10	£10	£10	£10	£10

Property	1477	1479	1483	1485	1487	...	1493
John Nasyng's Chantry							
Chamber - Seynt Mary Hill Lane			8s	8s			
Chamber - Seynt Mary Hill Lane			6s 8d	6s 8d			
Chamber - Seynt Mary Hill Lane			8s	8s			
Chamber - Seynt Mary Hill Lane			8s	8s			
Shop - Seynt Mary Hill Lane			6s 8d	6s 8d			
Chamber			8s				
Shop with Chamber - Seynt Mary Hill Lane			10s	10s			
Chamber - Seynt Mary Hill Lane			6s 8d	6s 8d			
House and celer - Prestes Alley			40s				
House			£3 3s 4d				
House			13s 4d				
Total		£9 3s 4d			£9 8d	£9 8d	£9 8d
Rose Wrytell's Chantry							
All tenements called old Swan		£6 13s 4d	£6 13s 4d	£6 13s 4d	£6 13s 4d	£6 13s 4d	£6 13s 4d

Bridge House Rentals for Properties in St Magnus the Martyr

Compiled from CLA/007/FN/02 - Bridge House Accounts and Rentals, preserving original forms of property descriptions and rental values, as well as Vanessa Harding and Laura Wright, *London Bridge Selected Accounts and Rentals, 1381-1538* (London: London Record Society, 1995).

Reference	Year	Name	Occupation	Property	£	S	D
BH Accounts vol.3 f.1	39 Henry 6	Richard Malt			4	6	8
BH Accounts vol.3 f21	1 Edward 4	nuper uxor Richard Malt			4	6	8
		All other properties in section Eastcheap					
BH Accounts vol.3 f44	2 Edward 4	nuper uxor Richard Malt		"Malteswharf"	4	6	8
		Richard Phippes		pro uno tenementa		30	
		Henry Stone		pro uno tenementa		30	0
		William Hyche		pro quendam domo bassa		13	4
		Richard Frecock		pro una camera		10	
BH Accounts vol.3 f66	3 Edward 4	Malt vidua			4	6	8
		Richard Phippes		pro uno tenementa		30	
		Henry Stone		pro uno tenementa		30	0
		William Hyche		pro quendam domo bassa		13	4
		nuper in temiro Richard Frecock		pro una camera		10	
BH Accounts vol.3 f83v	4 Edward 4	nuper uxor Richard Malt			4	6	8
		Richard Phippes		pro uno tenementa		30	
		Henry Stone		pro uno tenementa		30	0
		William Hyche		pro quendam domo bassa		13	4
				pro una camera		10	
BH Accounts vol.3 f99v	5 Edward 4	Johanna nuper uxor Richard Malt	Widow		4	6	8
		Richard Phippes		pro uno tenementa		30	
		Henry Stone		pro uno tenementa		30	0
		William Hyche		pro quendam domo bassa		13	4
				pro una camera		10	

BH Accounts vol.3 f115	6 Edward 4	Johanna Malt	Widow	pro uno tenementa	4	6	8
		Richard Phippes		pro uno tenementa		30	
		Henry Stone		pro uno tenementa		30	0
		William Hyche		pro quendam domo bassa		13	4
						10	
BH Accounts vol.3 f131	7 Edward 4	Johanna Malt	Widow		4	6	8
		Richard Phippes				30	
		Henry Stone				30	0
		“				13	4
		“				10	
BH Accounts vol.3 f145v	8 Edward 4	Johanna Malt	Widow		4	6	8
		Richard Phippes				30	
		Henry Stone				30	0
		Thomas Wellis				13	4
		Robert Dowe				8	
BH Accounts vol.3 f160	9 Edward 4	Johanna Malt			4	6	8
		Richard Phippes				10	
		Henry Stone				20	0
		William Godfrey				28	4
		Henry Smyth				10	
		Richard Arnold				10	
		Walter Austyn				10	
		William Barderole				10	
BH Accounts vol.3 f174	10 Edward 4	Johanna Malt			4	6	8
		Richard Phippes				10	
		Henry Stone				26	8
		Richard Arnold				10	
		John Thornton				10	
		William Godfrey				28	4
		Walter Austyn				10	

		William Barderole		10	
BH Accounts vol.3 f188	11 Edward 4	Johanna Malt	4	6	8
		“		10	
		Henry Stone		26	8
		Richard Arnold		10	
		John Thornton		10	
		William Godfrey		28	4
		Walter Austyn		10	
		William Barderole		10	
BH Accounts vol.3 f203	12 Edward 4	Johanna Malt	Widow	4	6 8
		Richard Arnold	pro camera	10	
		Henry Stone		26	8
		John Thornton	pro 1 watrynghous	10	
		John Smyth	pro 1 watrynghous	10	
		William Godfrey		28	4
		John Clement	Haberdasher	camera	10
		William Barderole	pro camera	10	
BH Accounts vol.3 f219	13 Edward 4	Johanna Malt	4	6	8
		Thomas Northfolke		10	
		“		23	4
		John Thornton		10	
		John Smyth		10	
		William Godfrey		18	4
		“		10	
		William Barderobe		10	
BH Accounts vol.3 f235	14 Edward 4	Johanna Malt	4	6	8
		Thomas Northfolke		10	
		“		23	4
		John Thornton		10	
		John Smyth		10	

		William Godfrey			18	4
		"			10	
		William Barderobe			10	
BH Accounts vol.3 f250	15 Edward 4	John Malt		4	6	8
		"	pro una camera		10	
		Thomas Cape	pro 1 watrynghous		23	4
		"	pro 1 watrynghous		10	
		"	pro una camera		10	
		William Godfrey			27	4
		"	pro una camera		10	
BH Accounts vol.3 f265	16 Edward 4	Edmund Newman	Fishmonger	pro tenemento 4	6	8
		Richard Arnold	Haberdasher	pro tenemento novo adificatus	53	4
		Elizabeth Godfrey	Widow	pro domo vassa	18	4
		Henry Smyth	Fishmonger	pro domo vassa	20	
		Thomas Cape		pro domo vassa	23	4
		Thomas Broke		pro domo vassa	20	
		"		redditus uno camere	10	
		"		redditus alterus camare	10	
		"		redditus iii camare	10	
		"		redditus iiii camare	10	
BH Accounts vol.3	17 Edward 4	Edmund Newman	Fishmonger	pro tenemento 4	6	8
		Richard Arnold	Haberdasher	pro tenemento	53	4
		Elizabeth Godfrey	Widow	pro domo vassa	18	4
		Henry Smyth	Fishmonger	pro domo vassa	20	
		Thomas Cape		pro domo vassa	23	4
		Thomas Broke		pro domo vassa	20	
		"			10	
		"			10	
		"			10	
		"			10	

BH Accounts vol.3 f293	18 Edward 4	Edmund Newman	Fishmonger	4	6	8
		Richard Arnold	Haberdasher		53	4
		Elizabeth Godfrey	Widow	pro domo vassa	18	4
		Henry Smyth	Fishmonger	pro domo vassa	20	
		Thomas Cape		pro domo vassa	23	4
		Thomas Broke		pro domo vassa	20	
		“			10	
		“			10	
		“			10	
		“			10	
BH Accounts vol.3 f307	19 Edward IV	Edmund Newman	Fishmonger	4	6	8
		Richard Arnold	Haberdasher		53	4
		Elizabeth Godfrey	widow		18	4
		Henry Smyth	Fishmonger		20	
		Thomas Cape			23	4
		Thomas Broke			20	
		“			10	
		“			10	
		“			10	
		“			10	
BH Accounts vol.3 f323 Thames Street	20 Edward 4	Edmund Newman	Fishmonger	4	6	8
		Richard Arnold	Haberdasher		53	4
		Elizabeth Godfrey	widow		18	4
		Henry Smyth	Fishmonger	for a watrynghouse	20	
		Thomas Cape		for a watrynghouse	23	4
		Thomas Broke		for a watrynghouse	20	
		“			10	
		“			10	
		“			10	
		“			10	

BH Accounts vol.3 f340	21 Edward 4	Edmund Newman	Fishmonger	4	6	8
		Robert Bartelot	Fishmonger	7	8	4
BH Accounts vol.3 f358	22 Edward 4	Edmund Newman	Fishmonger	4	6	8
		Robert Bartelot	Fishmonger	7	8	4
BH Accounts vol.3 f377	1 Richard 3	Edmund Newman	Fishmonger	4	6	8
		Robert Bartelot	Fishmonger	7	8	4
BH Accounts vol.4 f.3	1484	Edmund Newman	Fishmonger	4	6	8
		Robert Bartelot	Fishmonger	7	8	4
BH Accounts vol.4 f.22	1485	Edmund Newman	Fishmonger	4	6	8
		Robert Bartelot	Fishmonger	7	8	4
BH Accounts vol.4 f.40	1486	Edmund Newman	Fishmonger	4	6	8
		Robert Bartelot	Fishmonger	7	8	4
BH Accounts vol.4 f.62	1487	Edmund Newman	Fishmonger	4	6	8
		Robert Bartelot	Fishmonger	7	8	4
BH Accounts vol.4 f.85	1488	Edmund Newman	Fishmonger	4	6	8
		Robert Bartelot	Fishmonger	7	8	4
BH Accounts vol.4 f.97	1489	Edmund Newman	Fishmonger	4	6	8
		Robert Bartelot	Fishmonger	7	8	4
BH Accounts vol.4 f.110	1491	Edmund Newman	Fishmonger	4	6	8
		Robert Bartelot	Fishmonger	7	8	4
BH Accounts vol.4 f.144	1494	Edmund Newman	Fishmonger	4	6	8
		Robert Bartelot	Fishmonger	7	8	4
BH Accounts vol.4 f.166	1496	Edmund Newman	Fishmonger	4	6	8
		Robert Bartelot	Fishmonger	7	8	4
BH Accounts vol.4 f.194	1499	Robert Bartelot	Fishmonger	INCREASE		16
BH Accounts vol.4 f.219	1502	Mistress Newman		4	6	8
		Thomas Brese			10	
		William Lyster			10	
		Agnes Barre			10	
		William Nele			10	

		William Ramsey		20	
		John Bell		20	
		Leonard Johnson		20	
		Mistress Newman		18	
		Robert Fayrefax		46	8
BH Accounts vol.4 f.253	1505	Mistress Newman	4	6	8
		Thomas Brelose		13	4
		William Lyster		13	4
		Agnes Barre		10	
		William Nele		10	
		William Ramsey		20	
		John Bell		20	
		Leonard Johnson		20	
		Mistress Newman		18	
		Robert Fayrefax		46	8
Harding p.167	1537	John Turke	7	5	4
		John Roofe		10	
		William Lyster		10	
		John Swayne		10	
		Alice Cheshyre		10	
		John Turcke		23	4
		Robert Clerke		23	4
		Thomas Doughty		23	4
		Robert Putenham		23	4
		Thomas Doughty		50	

Appendix 4: Clergy of Sampled Parishes

Rectors

Primarily derived from George Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1898)., with alterations and corrections as noted.

St Botolph Billingsgate

John Wolde		1384	1412	d	St Paul's
John Holborn	September	1412	1413-4	Exch.	St Paul's
William Rose	January	1413-14	1441	d	St Paul's
Laurence Bothe	December	1441	1444	Exch.	St Paul's
Thomas Pulter	May	1444			St Paul's
Walter Coventre		1508	1520	d	St Paul's

St Mary at Hill

Rector	Appointed		Until		Patron (Notes)
Henry Cookham		1392	1400	d	
Henry Webb, pr	July	1400	1404	d	John Ward, citizen, 'for this turn'
Henry Shelford		1404	1422?	?	
Thomas Atherston		1407	1419	d	
William Sparke		1428	1430	d	
John Daventre alias Horne SPP	October	1430	1439	d	Richard Horne and Joanna his wife
Thomas Swan LLb	May	1439	1460	d	Walter and Isabell Strykland
Thomas Preston AM	April	1460	1466-7	d	Richard Page and Beatrice (CP40/825/rot506 - tried to appoint Thomas Wylkinson)
William Wild	August	1467	1494	?	Bishop of London by lapse
William Atclyff or Hatclyff STP		1514	1521	d	

St Margaret Bridge Street

Robert Sprotborough	April	1375	1400	d	Westminster
Thomas Atherton	May	1400	1408	d	Westminster
John Phelp		1409-10	1425-6	d	Westminster
John Conyngton		1425			Westminster
Henry Hansard		1428	1425-6		Westminster
John Cork		1438			Westminster
Thomas Kent LLD			1442-3	Res.	Westminster; (Page of his Majesty - TNA E310/3/18(33))
John Seton	March	1442-3	1444	Exch.	Westminster
John Crakall	November	1444	1452	d	Westminster
Reginald Bassett	August	1452	1456	Exch.	Westminster

John Foche STB	September	1456	1459	d	Westminster
Richard Williams	December	1459			Westminster; (Chaplain at St Magnus 1455)
John Alcock LLD	November	1461	1471-2	ceded	Bishop London
William Cokkys	March	1471-2	1512	d	Westminster

St Magnus the Martyr

William Frankish	September	1399	1401-2	Exch.	Bermondsey
Thomas Overton	February	1401-2	1405-6	d	Henry IV
John Bys	April	1406	1408	d	Thomas Kemysar and Edmund Bys, citizens
Robert Malton	July	1408	1425		Westminster
Laurence Dunton			1426	Exch.	
Stephen Noble	July	1426	1428	Exch.	Westminster
Henry Merston	May	1428	1428-9	Exch.	Bermondsey
Richard Moresby LB	February	1428-9	1434	Res.	Westminster
David Price	June	1434	1438	d	Bermondsey
William Fallan	November	1438	1458	Exch.	Westminster
Thomas Levensham	September	1458	1464-5	d	Bermondsey
John Crall alias Sudbury	January	1464-5	1479-80	d	Sir Thomas Montgomery
William Cokks	March	1479-80	1480-1	Res.	Bermondsey
John Dunmow LLB, pr	March	1480-1	1488-9	d	Westminster
William FitzHerbert DD	February	1488-9	1513-4	d	Bermondsey

Other Clergy

Other clergy and church personnel positively identified as associated with sample parish churches.

Clergy only included where relationship with a church is explicit in source material

St Botolph Billingsgate

William Lychefeld	1438	Parson	'late parson of the parish' (GL MS 59 [35]); 'Professor of the Holy Writ' 1438 (HR 166/37)
William Wrixham	1466	Parson	(GL MS 59[30])
William ?	1497	Parson	'that Parson William have his paye till Christmas'
Sir John Eastard	1447	"principal priest"	
Sir Richard Segrym	1490	Parish Priest	
Sir Thomas Stokes	1497	Parish Priest	
William Tustward	1443	parish sub-clerk	
Nicholas ?	1454	parish clerk	

John Wytteney	1404	Chaplain	already celebrating
John Ryder	1404	Chaplain	to hold chantry for Reynewelle
Nicholas Germain	1439	Chaplain	
Sir John Craston	1447	Chaplain	
Sir Richard Segrym	1480	Chaplain	
Richard Johnson	1480	Chaplain	
Sir Thomas Knyght	1491	Chaplain	Chantry for William Bacoun
2 x chaplains of Fraternity BVM	1404	Fraternity Chaplains	(PROB 11/2 Marche 8)

St Magnus the Martyr

John Shapman	c1459	Parish Clerk	
Hugh Clerk	1401	Holy Water Clerk	
John Avery	1420	Parish Clerk	
John Chapman	1455	Parish Priest	
Sir Richard Ruston	1480	Parish Priest	
Sir John Stoke	1480	Parish Priest	
Sir Edmund Birley	1485	Parish Priest	
Sir John Matthews	1495	Parish Priest	
Sir John Ostwike	d1495	Parish Priest	
Master John ?	1405	Chaplain	Private (then chantry) Chaplain of Mazera Aghton
Thomas Hoo	1410	Chaplain	
Sir Thomas Kyrtton	1412	Chaplain	
John Staundon	1414	Chaplain	Died intestate
Thomas Graston	1414	Chaplain	executor to Staundon
John Martyn	1419	Chaplain	
Sir Roger Wattes	1420	Chaplain	Fishmongers' Fraternity
William Hornse	1421	Chaplain	
John Medwe	1426	Chaplain	
Richard Graunt	1438	Chaplain	
Richard Coffe	d1440	Chaplain	
Master John Robert	1440	Chaplain	
Master John Hort	1440	Chaplain?	given book
William Strode	1459	Chaplain	
William Wyssyngset	1460	Parish Chaplain	
Stephen Brawn	d1474	Chaplain	
Master John Shovesbury	1480	Chaplain	
John Walton	1492	Chaplain	

St Margaret Bridge Street

William Farlaby	1485	Parish Clerk	
Alexander Chamber	1491	Parish Clerk	

Master William Ilkston	1485	Parish priest	
Sir Henry Curle	1490	Parish priest	
Sir John Cundall	1494	Priest	
Master Robert Blokke	1440	Chaplain	ComReg 4 f43v
Adam Whitteford	1442	Parish Chaplain	ComReg 4 f77v
Sir John Vale	1445	Chaplain	Private Chaplain to Thomas Badby; ComReg 4 f169v
William Beware	1469	Chaplain	ComReg 6 f34v

St Mary at Hill

Primarily references derived from wills and deeds, many more details are available amongst the churchwarden's accounts from the 1470s into the sixteenth century, especially for chantry chaplains.

John Gretym	1443	Parish Clerk	executor to Atherston 1419; ComReg 3 f31v
Thomas Whisshetir	1455	Parish Clerk	ComReg 5 f163v
William Stevens	1455	Parish Clerk	ComReg 5 f229
Robert Debname	1493	Parish Clerk	
Robert Debname	1500	Parish Clerk	
Sir William Thurlowe	1455	Parish Priest	
Sir John Huet	1480	Parish Priest	
Sir John Plomer	1493	Morrow-mass Priest	
Richard Ardwyk	1419	Chaplain	executor to Thomas Hogge, waterman; ComReg 3 f31
Robert Caldcote	1419	Chaplain	executor to Atherston 1419; ComReg 3 f31v
William Curroure	1438	Chaplain	ComReg 3 f507
John Colyns	1455	Chaplain	
John Sewall	1455	Chaplain	executor to Whisshetir; ComReg 5 f163v
Sir John Plommer	d1509	Chaplain	

Appendix 5: Churchwardens and 'Parish Men'

Churchwardens and other parish representatives compiled from a variety of sources, including references in wills and deeds. Vestrymen are interpreted as those acting as feoffees of the parish in deeds (other than wardens) or referred to as 'men of the parish'. Churchwardens for St Mary at Hill from 1472 are recorded in the churchwardens' accounts, and tabulated in Clive Burgess, "Shaping the Parish: St Mary at Hill, London, in the Fifteenth Century," in *The Cloister and the World: Essays on Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey*, ed. John Blair and Brian Golding (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 285.

St Botolph Billingsgate

Date	Name	Occupation	Role	Reference
1420	John Canon		Feoffee	GL MS 59 [23]
1420	John Baker		Feoffee	GL MS 59 [23]
1420	William Sampson		Feoffee	GL MS 59 [23]
1420	John Aylesham		Feoffee	GL MS 59 [23]
1420	John Reynewell		Feoffee	GL MS 59 [23]
1420	John Lane		Feoffee	GL MS 59 [23]
1420	William Rose		Feoffee	GL MS 59 [23]
1456	Thomas Page	Pewterer	Churchwarden	HR 211(1)
1456	John Parys	Pewterer	Churchwarden	HR 211(1)
1456	Thomas Pulter		Feoffee	HR 211(1)
1458	Thomas Page	Pewterer	Churchwarden	HR 210(15)
1458	Walter Culpitte	Scrivener	Churchwarden	HR 210(15)
1458	Thomas Page		Feoffee	HR 210(15)
1458	Walter Culpitte		Feoffee	HR 210(15)
1458	Thomas Pulter		Feoffee	HR 210(15)
1466	Hugh Watson	Fishmonger	Fraternity Warden	GL MS 59[30]
1466	Richard Rogers	Baker	Fraternity Warden	GL MS 59[30]
1507	William Morgham		Feoffee	GL MS 59 [35]
1507	William Venables		Feoffee "late churchwarden"	GL MS 59 [35]

St Magnus the Martyr

1400	Edmund Bys	Stockfishmonger	Churchwarden	HR 129(7)
1400	Peter Blak		Churchwarden	HR 129(7)
1403	William Brampton	Stockfishmonger, Alderman	Churchwarden	HR 131(75)
1405	Thomas Duffhous	Fishmonger	Churchwarden	HR 134(54)
1412	John Moore		Churchwarden	HR 140/53
1412	Thomas Loche		Churchwarden	ComReg 2 f234v
1425	Thomas Kyng	Haberdasher	Churchwarden	HR 154(77)
1425	Nicholas Bury		Churchwarden	HR 154(77)
1426	Stephen Noble		Feoffee	HR 154(77)

1428	Thomas Duffhous	Fishmonger, Sheriff	Feoffee	HR 157(56)
1428	Thomas Leget	Goldsmith	Churchwarden	HR 157(56)
1435	Thomas Leget	Goldsmith	Feoffee	HR 163(66)
1440	Thomas Pierson	stockishmonger	Churchwarden	HR 174(27)
1440	John Welles	Cutler	Churchwarden	HR 174(27)
1463	John Austyn	Fishmonger	Churchwarden	GL MS 6709
1463	John Staveney		Churchwarden	GL MS 6709
1484	?		"wardens of alms"	
<1502	John Halmon		Visitation Parishioner	Arnold's Chron
<1502	Thomas Broke	Stockfishmonger	Visitation Parishioner	(fl.1486)
<1502	Simon Motte		Visitation Parishioner	
<1502	William Hertwell	Cutler	Visitation Parishioner	(fl.1490)
<1502	John Robchaunt	Girdler	Visitation Parishioner	(fl.1494)
<1502	Thomas Davy	Fletcher	Visitation Parishioner	(fl.1494)
<1502	John Younge		Visitation Parishioner	
<1502	William Grene		Visitation Parishioner	
<1502	William Dickens		Visitation Parishioner	
<1502	Robert Vincent		Visitation Parishioner	
<1502	Richard Baronys		Visitation Parishioner	
<1502	John Eton	Haberdasher	Visitation Parishioner	(fl.1497)
<1502	Simon Newington		Visitation Parishioner	
<1502	John Turke	Fishmonger	Visitation Parishioner	(fl.1491)
1442	Richard Asser	Cutler	Fraternity Warden	HR 170(50)
1442	William Berkyng	Fishmonger	Fraternity Warden	HR 170(50)
1442	Thomas Gybbes	Grocer	Fraternity Warden	HR 170(50)
1442	John de Vache	Fishmonger (Warden)	Fraternity Warden	HR 170(50)
1448	John de Vache	Fishmonger (Warden)	Fraternity Warden	PatRoll26HenryVI Part 2 p.173
1448	William Berkyng	Fishmonger	Fraternity Warden	
1448	Thomas Gybbes	Grocer	Fraternity Warden	
1448	Richard Asser	Cutler	Fraternity Warden	
1448	Thomas West		Fraternity 'Brother'	
1448	Robert Horn	Stockfishmonger	Fraternity 'Brother'	
1448	William Beaufitz	Fishmonger	Fraternity 'Brother'	
1448	John Melbourne		Fraternity 'Brother'	
1448	John Waren		Fraternity 'Brother'	
1448	Thomas Leget	Goldsmith	Fraternity 'Brother'	
1448	Margaret West		Fraternity 'Sister'	
1448	Margaret Melbourne		Fraternity 'Sister'	
1448	Margaret Michel		Fraternity 'Sister'	
1448	Agnes Sampton		Fraternity 'Sister'	
1448	Joan King		Fraternity 'Sister'	
1448	Blithe Waryn		Fraternity 'Sister'	

St Margaret Bridge Street

1404	John Double	Fishmonger	Churchwarden	ComReg 2 f47v
1404	Robert Whaplode		Churchwarden	ComReg 2 f47v
1438	John Hill	Grocer	Churchwarden	ComReg 4 f68
1438	Robert de Bury	Fishmonger	Churchwarden	ComReg 4 f68
1441	John Cotyngnam	Fishmonger	Churchwarden	ComReg 4 f70
1441	Thomas Whaplode	Tailor	Churchwarden	ComReg 4 f70
1447	John Childe	Fishmonger	Churchwarden	HR 193(33)
1447	John Impyngnam	Fishmonger	Churchwarden	HR 193(33)
1472	Hugh Hunt	Gentleman	Churchwarden	Cartulary
1489	James Smyth	Fishmonger	Churchwarden	GL MS6696 [16]
1489	John Wheteley	Grocer	Churchwarden	GL MS6696 [16]

Appendix 6: Inventory of St Margaret Bridge Street

Guildhall Manuscript 1174, folios 8 – 12v.

Other sections of this manuscript have been published previously. The cartulary of properties is calendared, and the manuscript described in: Tony Dyson, “A Calendar of the Cartulary of the Parish Church of St. Margaret, Bridge Street (Guildhall Library Ms. 1174),” *Guildhall Studies in London History* 1, no. 3 (1974): 163-91. The section of the inventory dealing with books is published and discussed in: Pamela R. Robinson, “A ‘prik of Concience Cheyned’: The Parish Library of St Margaret’s, New Fish Street, London, 1472,” in *The Medieval Book and a Modern Collector: Essays in Honour of Toshiyuki Takamiya*, ed. Takami Matsuda, Richard A. Linenthal, and John Scalhill (Woodbridge & Otsuka: D.S. Brewer & Yushodo Press, 2004), 209-21.

The inventorie of the reliques joeles vestments ornaments bokes and oder godes longing to the cherche of Saint Margaret in Bruggestret in London. Made the laste day of August in the yere of our lorde MCCCCLXXII and the XII yere of the reign of Kinge Edwarde the IIIJth. Made by Hugh Hunt of London gentleman.

[?] [li]tel crosse of silver and gilt with a peice therein of the holy crosse weying XXIIJ ounces and 1 grain [s]tant [?]

Item of the crosse Sante Petre sette in silver and burell of the yeste of John Abury weying II ounces IIJ grain and d[?]

Item of the manger or cribbe that oure lorde Jesus criste was lande in

Item of the sepulchre of our lorde Jesus Christe

Item of the vestment and clothing of Sainte Marie Magdelene

Item of the bones of Sante Hugh the [p##e]

Item of the crosse of Sante Andrewe

Item of the bones of Sante Andrewe

Item of the bones of Sante Leodegare?

Item of the busshe of moises

Item of the rode of moises where with divided the rede see

Item of the stone where our Marie Magdelene dude hir penance

Item of the flesshe of Sante Wolston

Item of the clothunge of Sante Edmonde the confessor

Item of the [____] of Sante Christofre the martyr

Item [____] of the lengthe of the holy sepulchre

Item of the cope Sante Petre

Item of [____] of Sant Stephen and Sancte Laurence

Item of the clothing of Sante Matthe

Item of [____] of Sancte Agasse

Item of the stole gloves and combe of Sant Dunstane

Item of the bones of Sante Margarete and Sancte Blase

Item of oile of mounte O[]

Item of the oile of Sancte Katerine

Item of Sante Marie the moder of criste Jesus a parte of clothing

Item a tothe of Sante Brigide

<larger hand>

Item 1 relyke of the gyft of Hugh Hunt and Johane his wyf of silver parcel gilt with the relykes of Seint Christofier Seint Laurence and Seint Stephyns and the clothing of our lady in the relyks weying IX ounces ds [?]

[f.8v, original hand]

Item of the bodie of Sante Agasse the virgine
Item of the bodie of Sancte Thomas the martre
Item a relique of the apostil Sancte Jame the lesse
Item a reliquik of Sancte Spenose virgine and martre

<gap>

The summa of pardon graunted and conferined by the [###] and archbisshepis and bisshopis to al the gode doers and aiders and helpers and gode geueres to the cherche of Sancte Margarete in Brigstrete in London verraly confessed and contrited is thre yere and CLXVI dais and also [erte?] [soues?] LXXXX dais.

[f.9r]

The Joelis of the said cherche of Saint Margarte

First a crosse with the crucifix and Marie and John of silver all gilt werth togeder [##] IIIJ<XX> ounces IIJ grains and di. the whiche Hamond Baldewyn gaf to the cherche of santé Marget in Bruggestret in London

Item a crosse of silver parcel gilt and enamelled of which [##] [kathre?] floures weyng in all VJ lb VI ounces of troy <and thereof lakking IIJ ounces di>

[##] two grete candlestickis of silver parcel gilt and enamelled which in all w VJ lb and IX ounces of troy weight <thereof 1 ounce abated because of the wex therin>

[##] oder candlesticks sinall of silver parcel gilt with the [arms] of Thomas Badby weth IIJ lb and X ounces of troy

Item a senser of silver parcel gilt weurth of troy weight IIJ lb IIJ ounces and ~~IIJ grains~~

Item anoder lesser senser of silver parcel gilt weurth of troy weight IIJ lb VIJ ounces and [??] <and thereof lakketh IIJ grains>

Item a ship of silver parcel gilt with a spone of silver therto weing togeder XX ounces and di

Item a crismatorie of silver parcel gilt with the crème and all weing XXJ ounces and di

Item a belle of silver the clapper of iron weing XVI ounces and a grain.

Item two creweths of silver parcel gilt with sonnes weing XIIJ ounces and di

Item a pax of silver that on the side thereof gilt waying IIIJ ounces and a half

Item a monstrance of silver over gilt weyng XLJ ounces and I grain <and Item IIJ grainus>< now of the gyft of Johannis Kyppyng, grocer>

[f.9v]

Item a chalix of silver al gilt weith <with a crucifix in se fois of blew> XXV ounces <thereof lakketh 1 grain>

Item a chalix of silver al gilt weing <of the gift of Hugh Brews> XVIIJ ounces and di
<Item a chalice of silver al gilt enamelled blew [rings?] sete and [###?]>

Item a chalix of silver parcel gilt weing <with a crucifix mary and John [##?] sete> XVIIJ ounce scais? Thereof lakketh [##?]

Item a chalix of silver parcel gilt <with a crucifix ?> weing XIIIJ ounces IIJ grain

Item a chalix of silver parcel gilt weing XII ounces

Item a chalix of silver parcelx gilt weing XIJ ounces and di <<of the gyft Sir Henry Mader Preest>>

Item a crosse of cooper with marie and John

Item Shryne of cooper and gilt for reliques

<Item a coupe of laton gilt with a crosse and a kercheff of plesannce with IIIJ botons of golde of silke warks and I rede satyn cloth with knippes.>

<<Item IIJ Basyns of sylvere the bordure graven and gilt with IIJ sones in the myddle of the ton ys the ymage of Saint Marget and in the tother the ymage of Saynt John Baptist The whiche ben made of the store of the said Cherche waying LIJ ounces and di >>

[f.10r]

The vestments of the cherche of saint Margaret in Brugstret

A sute of blewe velvet of cloth of golde and a cope a chesibill two tanicles two stoles in IIJ fanons IIJ aubers and IIJ anutis with the parures of the same

Item IIJ copes of blewe clothe of gold with a briddis of baudkyn to the rectors to the same sute [with a]

Item a sute of rede clothe of gold <Bawkyn> with IIJ coopis a chesibill two tanicles IIJ stokes IIJ fanons IIJ aubis IIJ annytis with wherof wires of the same
Item a sute of whit damask with water flouris of gold and silke IIJ coopesa chesible IIJ tanicles IIJ stoles IIJ fanons IIJ aubes IIJ conytis? With the parures of the same.
Item a sute of whit silk with papurheis IIJ copes a chesibill IIJ tanicles IIJ stoles IIJ fanons IIJ aubis IIJ amytis of diverse sortes with the parines of the same
Item a cope of rede velvet with lambis a chesibile of the same a tanicle of scarlet with lambis IIJ stoles IIJ anonus IIJ amytis with the parutes of the same
Item a cope of blacke velwet a chesible IIJ tanicles IIJ stoles IIJ fanons IIJ aubis IIJ amytis with the perurs of the same.
Item two copes of ~~rede~~ <cawine awt garter and sancte?> silk with roses on the orfreys
Item IIJ copes of blake bokeram with lyons in the orfreys
Item a blewe cope lined with blewe bokeram powdred with ymages and pykes of gold old for Sondayes used
Item IIJ children copes of silke the parure chekked
Item IIJ children copes stayned lined with fustram
Item an olde cope of <old> baudkum for lent to be occupied
<<Item a cope of blewe velvet brodred with water flores and in the hood an ymage of Saint Marget and in the moore a chanon of the gyft of Maistre William Cokkes now parson of the same church of Saynt Marget>>

[f.10v]

Item a vestment of rede silk poundred with dragons a chesible a stole a sanon an a[#] be an amyte with the perures of the same.
Item a vestment of silk with armes and crownes a chesible a stole a sanon a aube an amyte with the peruris of the same
Item a vestment of blewe worsted lined with grene [bokeram?] a chesible a stole a fanon an aube a amyte the perwis [###]
Item a vestment of rede silk pondred with crosses a stole a fanon an aube an amyte the perurs of the same
Item a vestment of grene silk a chesibla stole a s[#] [—] an amyte with perurs of the same
Item a vestment of reede velvet a chesible a stole a f[###] aube an amyte with the perurs of the same
Item an olde vestment of diverse colors a chesibile a stole a fanon an aube an amyte with the perurs of pe same
Item a Lenten vestment of whit bustram a chesible a stole a fanon an aube amyte the perures of the same
Item a vestment of blak ~~bokeram~~ <g## sable> a chesible a stole a fanon [####] an amyte the peruis of the same
Item a copus of damaske white pondred with floures of golde and silk with oisans? Of neldewerke geven to thentent that the soul of William Brabroke and Piers Grubbe be praide for forever.
Item IIJ pilwers of damask white eche pilive garnished with water flouris of golde and of silke
<Item I blak frontell of silk embrowded with hertes and flowers of golde >
<Item a newe Lenten vestment of Bustian poudred with woundes of Reede with a reede crosse and agrene Chaplet with thewbe amyttes stole and fanon with perures>
<[Thees IIJ vestments of pe gyft of Sir Henry Madyr Preest
Item another vestment of blewe demysan poudred with water flores of gold and silk thawbe amyttes stole and fanon with the perures of the same
Item another Chesible of bourdalysann reede and thorfrays grene with thawbe amytes stole and fanon with the perures of the same
Item another Cheseble of bourdalysaund grene therfrays reede with the perures of the same]>
<<Item a litil lynned cloth of white steyned with Our Lady>>
<<ItemI cope of grene bawdekyn with orphreys of Juipiall new for Sondays>>

[f.11r]

The Ornamentis of the said Cherche of Saint Margarete
A frontel of blewe velvet cloth of gold with IIJ sheldis Baddies armes to the hie auter
Item an oder cloth of the same set under the said frontell

Item an oder cloth of the same for above the hie auter <with the armmes of Badby with a frontell for þe patre of Juelle?>

Item a frontell of rede cloth of gold <of Baudekyn?> with briddis to the hie auter conteynyng [## #] clothes of the same with a frontell of rede and grene

Item <an awter cloth> of whit damaske poudred with water floures of gold and silk a frontel an auter cloth an hanger above the hie auter

Item [?] auter clothes stayned with rede <beste> with IJ coatems [##?] same for the hie auter [####] clothes newe stained of Saint Margaretis lyve and anoder [###] the creste geven by the parson Maister Alkok with a [####] to the same with IJ pagentes

Item an auter clothes white staned with rede for lenton with IJ coatems [————] to the hite auter

Item IJ lenton clothes stained with rede ~~baddis~~ <beastes>

Item a steyned cloth hangyng afore Saint Margaret <called Ridels>

Item a steyned cloth hanging afore Saint John Baptist <called Ridels>

Item a newe lenton whit clothes stained with damask werk

Item a cloth of Baudekin for Weddynges

Item a fonte cloth stayned with a lif of Saint John Baptist

Item a canape cloth of blewe of stained weak

Item a fronte cloth and a canape cloth stayned

Item to our ladie auter a whit frontell of baudekun cloth of gold with anoder cloth of the same and IJ cortems of whit silk

Item a stemed cloth of whit for the table with an oder of the same be neathe the auter and two coatemis <for our lady auter>

Item a sute for lenton for the same auter

Item a stemed cloth with an ymage of our lady hanging before the ymage of our ladie

Item a steined cloth before Sainte Anne

Item to fore Saint Peteris auters IJ stained clothes whit with the life of saint Katherine with IJ coatems therto

Item to the same auter IJ clothes stayned a coateme with cloucies?

Item a sute of whit for lenton to the same auter

[f.11v]

Item to Saint Margaretes auter IJ stained clothes and IJ coateins with the storie of Saint Margaret <now parteynyng to one of þe IJ[?] auteris in the churche>

Item IJ clothes and IJ curtems with cloudes stained

Item a sute of whit for lenton for same auter

Item to Saint Nicholas auter IJ clothes and I coatems stained with the storie of Saint Nicholas whit

Item IJ clothes and a coateme steined with cloudes

Item a sute of whit for þe same auter for lenton

Item VIJ lynnen auter clothes of werkis for the hie auter

Item an auter cloth playn for the same auter

Item IIIJ waissching towels of werke fine

Item an olde towel of werkes for the same auter

Item for our ladie auter IJ auter clothes of werkis

Item for the auters without V auterclothes gode and bade ~~with one roller plaine for the same.~~

Wherof IIIJ auter clothes be joyned to F[##]

<Item IJ double auter clothes playne of the gyft of Katheryn Mason>

Item a towel of werk contenyith XI ellis

Item a towel of werk contenyith VIIJ ellis and di

Item a towel of werk contenyith VJ ellis

Item a towel of werk contenyith VJ ellis

Item a towel of werk contenyith V ellis

Item a towel of werk contenyith V ellis and di

<Item an oder towel of werk contenyith V ellis>
 <Item a large towel of werkes fine cont. IIJ ellis and di
 Item a towel of werk contenyith IIJ ellis and quartus
 Item a nother towel of werk cont. IIJ ellis
 [-----]
 Item an auter cloth of werk conteuyng IIJ ellis

 Item VJ new surplus for Men <woreun? Wherof IIIJ be goode and IJ [b##]>
 Item IIIJ neue Rochettis for younge men worn
 Item IJ Rocheutis for children
 Item IJ pillows of blak velvet embriodred with a shilde therin a dolfyn and IIJ andrewe crosses with
 pearles
 Item a pilowe of Murrey silk embriodred with vines of gold
 Item IJ mens surplys with slevyes marked with an H and an M of the gyfte of Sir Henry Mader
 preest.
 <Item rode long pelowe of silk cloth of gold.
 <Item 1 surpleys for 1 chylde>
 <Item a pilowe of murrey silk embriodred with vynes of gold
 [f.12r]

 Item IJ olde pilues of silk of diverse colours
 Item a litell carpet old and brokend
 Item a capet of whit tapstry werke with dragons
 Item a cloth and a banker of the same werke for the presbiterie
 Item VJ qousshons of fusham of the same werke
 Item [-----]
 Item an olde clothe of the grene silke with dolfines of golde <of grene>
 Item [-----]
 Item a steyned clothe for the sepulchre with the resurrection
 Item a velens of black bokeram with angeles og golde
 Item IJ valens of blewe bokeram with Pernens armes
 Item a black cloth with a whit crosse for corses present
 Item IX baner clothes with VIIJ rede staves for the rodelofte
 Item IIIJ rede canapé staves Item XXJ pennons
 Item IIJ olde crosse baners of diverse werkis
 Item a crosse banner of grene tartren with the trinite
 Item IJ baners of blewe bokeram stayned with the passion
 Item IJ staves and IJ crosses rede for the same baners
 Item a crosse of tre for lenton with a staff
 Item a veil for the quere for lenton of the gyft of Elizabeth Chattok
 Item for the rode lofte a stayned clothe for the passion
 Item an oder olde cloth of the live of Saynt Margaret for the same
 Item a steyned clothe for the rode in lente
 Item an olde steined clothe for the oder rode with a crucifix
 Item a sudarie of whit silk rared for the crismatory
 Item [-----]
 Item IIJ superaltaries of Maroitt
 Item a corperes case of rede velvet embrondred with the salvation of our ladie
 Item a corperes case of whit damaske with water floures of golde and silke and a corperes therin
 Item IX corperesses with VJ cases gode and bade <wherof lak IIJ>
 Item a crosse stas coper and gilt the lowe ende peynted rede
 Item a foote cloth to the hie auter of domesya?
 Item IJ olde myters for saint Nicholas
 Item IJ auter clothes of werkis for the seede auter
 Item a playn auter clothe
 <Item IJ corporas cases of cloth of gold rede>

<Item I nother corporas case of blak cloth of gold>

<Item I chesible for seint Nicholas of rede silk and grene>

[f.12v]

Item IIIJ short waissing toweles of werkis and an oder playn

Item in the bodie of the cherche a fore the Image of Saintes for lenton sesoun XI clothes

Item a clothe of the passion of oure Lorde

Item IIJ quysshens of rede and grene whereof IJ for Rioies Coie? And one with I crowne of gold embroded for childwyfes?

Item I blak auterclothes for þe high auter of blak silk for a beve and beneth

Appendix 7: Fishmongers' Company Office Holders

Compiled from all available sources, including Fishmongers' Ordinance Book and Court of Aldermen Repertory Rolls (LMA COL/CA/01/01/)

Name	Position	Reference	Date
John de Vache	Warden	HR 188/12	1443
Thomas Fulbourne	Warden	HR 188/12	1443
Thomas Cullyng	Warden	HR 188/12	1443
John Sugar	Warden	HR 188/12	1443
John Bromer	Warden	HR 188/12	1443
Thomas Pierson	Warden	HR 188/12	1443
William Turke	Warden	HR 193/33	1447
John Chattok	Warden	HR 193/33	1447
John de Vache	Warden	CC, Deeds, Box 6 [22]	1456
William Turke	Warden	CC, Deeds, Box 6 [22]	1456
John Sparowe	Warden	CC, Deeds, Box 6 [22]	1456
John Brampton	Warden	CC, Deeds, Box 6 [22]	1456
William Eston	Warden	CC, Deeds, Box 6 [22]	1456
William Cogasale	Witness to Mayor (Old Fish St)	FishOrd p.14	1413[?]
Robert Gray	Witness to Mayor (Old Fish St)	FishOrd p.14	1413[?]
Philip Philip	Witness to Mayor (Old Fish St)	FishOrd p.14	1413[?]
Richard Troknold	Witness to Mayor (Old Fish St)	FishOrd p.14	1413[?]
William Rede	Witness to Mayor (Old Fish St)	FishOrd p.14	1413[?]
Richard Ergast	Witness to Mayor (Old Fish St)	FishOrd p.14	1413[?]
Robert Deton	Witness to Mayor (Old Fish St)	FishOrd p.14	1413[?]
Thomas Blakenold	Witness to Mayor (Old Fish St)	FishOrd p.14	1413[?]
Thomas Bemwell	Witness to Mayor (Old Fish St)	FishOrd p.14	1413[?]
John Leget	Witness to Mayor (Old Fish St)	FishOrd p.14	1413[?]
Robert Neppe	Witness to Mayor (Old Fish St)	FishOrd p.14	1413[?]
Richard Puntfret	Witness to Mayor (Old Fish St)	FishOrd p.14	1413[?]
Thomas Kneseworth	Warden (& Alderman)	FishOrd p.13	1496
Jarard Danyell	Warden	FishOrd p.13	1496
John Felde	Warden	FishOrd p.13	1496
Willam Ramsey	Warden	FishOrd p.13	1496
Roger Hungate	Warden	FishOrd p.13	1496
Christopher Grauham	Warden	FishOrd p.13	1496
Thomas Kneseworth	Master	FishOrd p.16	1509
Jarard Danyell	Warden	FishOrd p.16	1509
John Felde	Warden	FishOrd p.16	1509
Willam Ramsey	Warden	FishOrd p.16	1509
Roger Hungate	Warden	FishOrd p.16	1509
Christopher Grauham	Warden	FishOrd p.16	1509
William Barde elder	Warden	Rep 2 f.135v	May 1512
Thomas Lovall	Warden	Rep 2 f.135v	May 1512
Bartholomew Dorky	Warden	Rep 2 f.135v	May 1512
Radulphus Symond	Warden	Rep 2 f.135v	May 1512

Joseph Boyes	Warden	Rep 2 f.135v	May 1512
Gregory Stotte	Warden	Rep 2 f.135v	May 1512
William Barde elder	Warden	FishOrd p.53	1512
Thomas Lovall	Warden	FishOrd p.53	1512
Bartholomew Dorky	Warden	FishOrd p.53	1512
Radulphus Symond	Warden	FishOrd p.53	1512
Joseph Boyes	Warden	FishOrd p.53	1512
Gregory Stotte	Warden	FishOrd p.53	1512
Thomas Partriche	Warden	FishOrd p.53	1512
Rauff Tomson	Warden	FishOrd p.53	1512
Robert Clerk	Warden	FishOrd p.53	1512
Thomas Awndeby	Warden	FishOrd p.53	1512
John Felde	Warden	FishOrd p.53	1512
Thomas Nicolles	Warden	FishOrd p.53	1512
John a wood	Warden	FishOrd p.53	1512
William Barde	Representative to Mayor	Rep 2 f.142v	Oct 1512
Thomas Lovall	Representative to Mayor	Rep 2 f.142v	Oct 1512
Bartholomew Derby	Representative to Mayor	Rep 2 f.142v	Oct 1512
Ralph Symonde	Representative to Mayor	Rep 2 f.142v	Oct 1512
Gregory Stott	Representative to Mayor	Rep 2 f.142v	Oct 1512
John Boyes	Representative to Mayor	Rep 2 f.142v	Oct 1512
John Turke	Representative to Mayor	Rep 2 f.142v	Oct 1512
Thomas Aubrey	Representative to Mayor	Rep 2 f.142v	Oct 1512
Richard Faringfold	Representative to Mayor	Rep 2 f.142v	Oct 1512
William Pawey	Representative to Mayor	Rep 2 f.142v	Oct 1512
William Ramsey	Representative to Mayor	Rep 2 f.142v	Oct 1512
John Pary	Representative to Mayor	Rep 2 f.142v	Oct 1512
Thomas Nichols	Representative to Mayor	Rep 2 f.142v	Oct 1512
Robert Blake	Representative to Mayor (Stockf?)	Rep 2 f.142v	Oct 1512
Leonard Johnson	Representative to Mayor (Stockf?)	Rep 2 f.142v	Oct 1512
Richard Gapon	Representative to Mayor (Stockf?)	Rep 2 f.142v	Oct 1512
Richard Fyndall	Representative to Mayor (Stockf?)	Rep 2 f.142v	Oct 1512
Adam Swayne	Representative to Mayor (Stockf?)	Rep 2 f.142v	Oct 1512
Robert Bromstede	Representative to Mayor (Stockf?)	Rep 2 f.142v	Oct 1512
John Gruppe	Representative to Mayor (Stockf?)	Rep 2 f.142v	Oct 1512
Robert Baret	Representative to Mayor (Stockf?)	Rep 2 f.142v	Oct 1512
Thomas Reynold	Representative to Mayor (Stockf?)	Rep 2 f.142v	Oct 1512
William Hummyng	Representative to Mayor (Stockf?)	Rep 2 f.142v	Oct 1512
Roger Bourbow	Representative to Mayor (Stockf?)	Rep 2 f.142v	Oct 1512
William Barde	Warden	FishOrd p.56	1513
Thomas Ledale	Warden	FishOrd p.56	1513
Bartholomew Darby	Warden	FishOrd p.56	1513
Ralph Symond	Warden	FishOrd p.56	1513
John Boys	Warden	FishOrd p.56	1513
Gregory Stot	Warden	FishOrd p.56	1513
Christopher Grantham	Warden	G LMS 6699	1523
John Pery	Warden	GL MS 6699	1523
William Bourde	Warden	GL MS 6699	1523

Robert Smyth	Warden	GL MS 6699	1523
William Henyng	Warden	GL MS 6699	1523

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COL/CC/01/01/	Journals of the Court of Common Council

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GL MS 1174	Parish Cartulary of St Margaret Bridge Street
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GL MS6686 to 6696	Fishmongers' Company Deeds
GL MS 8063	Joiners Company deeds
GL MS 9051	Archdeacon of London's will registers
GL MS 9171	Commissary of London's will registers
GL MS 9277	Report of executors of Thomas Kneseworth
GL MS 14318	Cordwainers' Company Miscellaneous Book
GL MS 15364	Vintners' Company Will Book

Fishmongers' Hall

Ordinance Book of the Fishmongers' Company (1509)

The National Archives

TNA C1	Early Chancery Proceedings
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TNA CP40	Court of Common Pleas
TNA C47/42/	Guild Certificates
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